

THEOLOGO-HISTORICUS,

Or the True

L I F E

O F T H E

Most Reverend DIVINE,
and Excellent HISTORIAN

PETER HEYLYN D.D.

Sub-Dean of *Westminster*.

Written by his Son in Law JOHN BARNARD
D. D. Rec. of *Waddington* near *Lincoln*.

To correct the Errors, supply the Defects, and confute the Calumnies of a late Writer.

Also an Answer to Mr. BAXTERS false Accusations of Dr. HEYLYN.

Quisquis patitur peccare peccantem is vires subministrat Audacia.
Arnob. L. 4.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. S. and are to be sold by Ed. Eckelston, at
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TO THE
Right Reverend Father
in GOD
NATHANIEL
Lord Bishop of
DURHAM.

My Honour'd Lord,



*Here present to
your Lordship the
true Effigies of
Dr. Heylyn (drawn to the
Life, so far as my Pen is
A 3 able*

Epistle Dedicatory.

able, to preserve the memory
of his person among the num-
ber of worthy men, for his
extraordinary merits, I hope,
may be truly said to this
Church and Nation, wherein
he labour'd while he liv'd to
promote the publick Good of
both; that his Name will
never be forgotten, whil'st
his Books are extant, if
we may believe the words of
St. Jerome in this particu-
lar. Vir sapiens (saith
he) diebus & noctibus la-
borat

S. Jer.
Com. in
cap. 2.
Esdr.

Epistle Dedicatory.

borat & componit Libros
ut memoriam suam poste-
ris derelinquat; so the Works
which this painful Presbyter
has publish'd to the World,
the Catalogue of them be-
ing not ordinary with the
Writers of our Age, and the
matter in them upon several
Subjects not vulgarly handled,
I doubt not, will perpetuate his
Memory to future Posterity;
especially among all good men,
who are sincere Lovers of
Monarchy and Episcopacy.

Epistle Dedicatory.

I am sure for his Religion and Loyalty, for the Cause of the King and Church of England, no man could declare himself a more faithful and zealous example, by constant writing and sufferings. And for his conversation, not only as a good Christian, but as becomes a Clergy man, it was so unblameable, that his most inveterate enemies could never throw dirt in his Face for the least Immoralities.

*Therefore for his sake,
whom*

Epistle Dedicatory.

whom your Lordship hath seen
in his house at Abingdon,
where he made you heartily
welcome in those dayes, when
I had the honour (though so
unworthy a person) to dictate
the first Principles of Acade-
mical Learning to you, which
God has since well blessed,
that you are one (and I wish
may long continue so) of
the Chief Prelates in this
Realm : I doubt not, I say
for this Reverend and Lear-
ned Mans sake more than mine,
your

Epistle Dedicatory.

your Lordship will be pleased to take into your Patronage the Narrative of his Life, which I have faithfully composed and retriev'd from the Ignorances and unpardonable deficiencies of a late Writer. I am the more nearly concern'd for my Relation sake, because Dr. Heylyn was not an ordinary common Clergy-man, though he acted in a lower Sphere than the highest Dignitaries in our Church; its sufficiently known he was
sing-

Epistle Dedicatory.

singularly well acquainted above many others, with the principal motions and grand Importances in his time both of Church and State, as any man may perceive, who will take the pains to peruse his Writings. And that he had not only a speculative Science in the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity of this Nation, but was oftentimes employed an Agent by the late King and Arch-Bishop, (the two blessed Martyrs of this

Epistle Dedicatory.

this Land) in several matters committed to his particular Charge; for which he incurr'd the odium of the Mobile and especially of those Factionous People, then call'd Puritans, but now Fanatics; a Name though seems new and strange to them, was of old, first given by Calvin himself to those who deserting his, and the Lutheran way of Reformation, out of an aversion to Popery fell upon a contrary extreme. Their
hair-

Instit.
lib. I.
cap. 9.

Epistle Dedicatory.

hair-brain'd zeal without understanding, and accompanied with invincible obstinacy in their Enthusiastical Dotages, if Power was answerable to their Wills, would bring a second desolation upon our Church, and confusion in the Kingdom. Both which God and his good Angels evermore protect, that we may enjoy the inestimable comforts of Peace and Government, our true Religion establish'd by Law and
Scrip-

Epistle Dedicatory.

*Scripture, our sacred Ministry
second to none for Learning
and good Life generally, and
the ancient Order of Episco-
pacy deriv'd from the pure
Fountain of Apostolical
Times, heartily prayeth*

Your Lordships

most faithful Servant

JOHN BARNARD.

Errata

P Age 3. line 10. read acquainted p. 5. l. 16. r. transcriptions for transcription p. 10. l. 10. r. multavit for mulcavit p. 12. l. 15. r. volumes for volummes p. 17. l. 2. r. E. p. 19. l. 6. dele to p. 20. l. 7. r. joculari for vocalari p. 20. l. 19. dele the p. 28. l. 8. r. two for too ibid. r. extremes for extreams p. 24. l. 28. r. thought for think p. 25 l. 4 dele which I sup. p. 26 l. 20 r. temerarius for tenerarius p. 28 l. 14 r. believe for believed p. 29 l. 20 r. inceserat p. 31 l. 29 r. γλυκυπικεον for γλυκυπικεος p. 40 l. 23 r. supra for supera p. 32 in the marg. r. Mileu. p. 53 r. Euseb, for Eufib. p. 54 l. 2 r. horresco for honesto ib. r. nefanda for nefranda p. 55 marg. r. Suid. for Suida p. 57 l. 13 r. tends for bend p. 57 l. 24 r. Optatus for Oplatus p. 58 l. 25 r. Presbyterians for Presbiteriaas p. 93 l. 27 r. for p. 95 l. 21. r. manifestaq; for manifestag; p. 101 l. 29 r. Levit. for Lenit p. 109 l. 20 r. Antagonist for Antagonist ib. marg. r. And. for Aud p. 115 l. 11 add Justice of Peace for the County of Oxon. p. 123 marg. r. in for to p. 125 l. 3 r. Allegations for Accusations ibid r. Retraction for Retraction p. 139 l. 21 r. conference for confurence p. 143 l. 29 r. where for when p. 144 l. 29 r. Turret for Tower p. 151 l. dele and p. 153 l. 20 r. sitting for fitting p. 186 l. 21 r. rights for right p. 157 l. 15 r. ut for & p. 191 l. 18 add afterward p. 198 l. 3 r. commended for commanded p. 199 l. 8 r. he for be p. 209 l. 10 r. was for were p. 226 l. 9 r. himself for he p. 228 l. 15 r. there for their p. 255 l. 16. r. the Doctor lived p. 268 l. 23 r. face for face. p. 246 l. 28 dele Lux. r. tue.

There are more Errors than in the Errata, which the good Reader is desired to pass by.

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Necessary Vindication

OF

Dr. *HELYN*

AND THE

AUTHOR of the following *LIFE*.

I Had never put my self to the trouble of writing, and the Reader to his pains in reading the third Publication of Dr. *Heylyn's* Life, but that I have been most grossly abused in the first and second, upon the same Subject. At the sight of both which, I was not a little amazed, but ashamed. First to see an anonymous piece, printed before the Doctors works, which I had ordered otherwise: And lately a little Book crept forth with the Name of its Author. Therefore I must crave leave of the Reader's Patience to shew how I come concern'd, and have been unciwilly dealt with by *George Vernon* (as he writes himself) Rector of *Bourton* on
most B the

A necessary

the Water in Gloucestershire ; a Man utterly unknown to me before this affair. *Nec beneficio, nec injuria mihi notus.*

About four years agoe hearing that Mr Hen. Heylyn my Brother in law, did intend to print his Fathers life before some miscellaneous pieces of his Writings, I made a tender of my service to that work ; for which I could propose no other advantage to my self than my labour for my pains? and only to testifie my real reverence and hearty affection to his Father and mine, whom I ever honoured for his learning and good life : And because I thought such a duty might be more reasonably expected from me, his Son-in-Law, than any other who was a stranger to him ; especially, when he was pleased to put several papers into my hands to transcribe, and had often discoursed various passages of his Life to me, which I know none in the world can give an account of but my self. Yet since his Sons fancy led him to make choice of another before me, I was satisfied, and did patiently expect the coming forth of the work, not only Term after Term, but year after year, a very considerable time for so small a Tract. But at last instead of the Life came a Letter to me
from

rom a Book-Seller in *London*, viz. Mr. *Chr. Wilkinson* at the sign of the black Boy in *Fleetstreet*, to desire my assistance, for the thing (as he writ) was at a stand. The printing of which Mr. *Harper* his Friend would not have undertaken had not Mr. *Heylin* assured him, that I was engaged in it, because it must needs be (as he said) lame and imperfect if it was done without my knowledge, who was acquainted with all the transactions of the Doctors Life.

But to those Letters I returned several flat denyals, thinking it below me to meddle in that, which another had before undertaken, much less to be his journey man to patch up what I should have made new. Besides I had no confidence in the Man, so bold and forward in the work, because he was a mere stranger to my Father *Heylyn* (as he now publicly confesses) and I beleive never saw the Doctors face in his Life. Yet still I was importun'd, and his writings were sent down to me, withal to let me know the Writer was willing I should make what alterations in them and additions to them, I pleased, for which I have Mr. *Wilkinsons* letter by me in *his verbis*. a person so honest as will not deny his own words.

Reverend Sir.

I Received your Letter, and am again trouble-
some to you. Mr. Harper assures me
that he thought you had been first concern'd in
writing your Fathers Life by Mr. Heylyn's
recommendation; But afterwards he found
that one Mr. Vernon of Gloucester has col-
lected the papers which compose the Life,
whom Mr. Heylyn desired to perfect; the
said Vernon has desired Mr. Harper to com-
municate the papers to whom he pleases, and
cross out or add what is thought convenient,
to which purpose he designs to send the said
Life down to you, and do with it, as
you think good, and if you think fitting put
your own Name to it, for Mr Vernon will
not have his name made use of: I thought
good to acquaint you hereof, and desire you
will be pleased to give me a line or too. Sir
I am

Your obliged and humble Ser-
vant Christopher Wilkinson.

London February 18. 1680

At the receipt of this Letter I was un-
willingly perswaded by some Friends to
send

send to *Lincoln* for the Gentlemans Manuscript which had laid at the Carriers house above three weeks: And when it came into my hands I found it indeed according to the Booksellers description; (in another Letter) lame and imperfect. And I must say all begun, and worse carried on, and abruptly concluded. Nay some things false and scandalous tending to the disreputation, and not the honour of my Father: Besides half the Life, for want of other matter, when those few old Notes failed him, which Mr. *Heylin* had lent him, was stuffed out with a long story of *Westminster*, and a *sarrago* of needless transcription out of Dr. *Heylins* Books, for no other purpose, than to prove the Doctor was no Papist. *Quorsum hæc perditio*: For did ever any lay this to his charge, but the Puritan Sectaries, who were his profest Enemies? I will call Doctor *Burnet*, his very good Friend, who I am sure will stand his second in this challenge, for he saith, *I doubt not but he was a sincere Protestant*. But this only was his mishap, first to write the History of Reformation, and his second hath so far outgone him, that ever since the poor Doctor has suffered in his Reputation, and

Pref. to
Hist. of
Ref.

and the Church of *England* nick-named with Popery, which odious name first took its epoch, (and God be thanked is of no elder date) from the beginning of the late History of Reformation, and the thankful Parliament to the Historian. Since then, our Religion and Hierarchy has been hunched at by every Clown and Fanatick. Others more unnaturally, like *Nero to Agrippina*, have searched into the secret Entrails of their Mother, ript up her Bowels to see if they could find a Pope in her Belly. Therefore the good old Doctor lyes no more under the malicious slander and suspicion of Popery, than our dear Mother, the Church of *England*, for her excellent Wisdom in keeping up a medium betwixt the two extreame of Popery and Fanaticism.

But to return to my Gentleman again, out of respect to my Brother, because he was his Acquaintance, I dealt most ingenuously with the Life, made several Additions to it, corrected many mistakes, abated only the Harangue of Transcriptions and such passages, as I thought were disgraceful reflections on my Reverend Father; I put it into a method, which was before very confused — *Cui lecta potenter erit res.*

Nec

Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. as the Poet said. I also disposed both his and my own Discourses into distinct Paragraphs, that the one might be known from the other. And finally I writ this civil Letter of Thanks to him, which I sent up to the Book-seller, and ordered to be printed before the Life, and it is as followeth.

Sir,

THough I have not the good Fortune to be acquainted with you, nor in all probability ever shall, at so far a distance as we live asunder; yet I cannot but express a most hearty thanks for your reverence and high esteem of Dr. Heylyn, and for the pains you have bestowed about his Life. In the carrying on of which, notwithstanding I have taken the greater Task upon my self, and should have undertook it wholly, if I had been first engaged in it, because I am related to the Family, and know more material circumstances for this purpose than any man now living, which I have heard from his own mouth; yet still I acknowledge my self a Debtor to you for his sake; whose Memory whatsoever it meriteth among others, I have most reason to honour, and say as

Bern. Epist.
135.

S. Bernard did in his Epistle ad Petrum Papiniens. Quis mihi det unquam memoriam tui deferere. Nunquam ab ipsa deferi? And for the whole History I have so ordered it, ^{as} in Reason and Justice it ought to be, being written by us both, that our Parts are divided by a Line, and first Letter of our Names, that the Reader may be satisfied which is mine and yours: And I hope betwixt us both by such as are not prejudiced, the Work will be judged perfect. So with my due Respects I shall conclude with the same good Father. Utinam quod minime spero, nostra vobis in aliquo possit esse officiosa rusticitas.

Waddington, your Servant
April the 9th, 1681. John Barnard.

To this Letter I expected no less than civil thanks, for the trouble and pains I had undergone in my new imploy, not sought by me, but importuned by others, that I can say, *Non lecta est operi, sed data causa meo.* But instead of thanks from him, and the return of common civility; he disfigured my Papers, that no sooner came into his hands, but he fell upon them as a Lion rampant, or like the Lions:

ness: The Cat, upon the poor Cock in the Fable, saying, *Tu hodie mihi discerperis*. So my Papers came home miserably clawed, blotted and blurred, whole Sentences dismembred, and Pages scratched out, several Leaves omitted which ought to have been printed, especially if he met with any passages in the Life that seemed an Ornament to it, he would give no fair Quarter to them. Such an Interpolator he was, as I hope not to meet with his Fellow. Whereas the Reader may think I did the like with his Manuscript: No, I sent it up whole and entire, took the pains to transcribe out of it what I thought fit to be inserted into the Life, and set his Name thereto. I did him no wrong; but on the contrary he most shamefully used my Copy, that before it was carried to the Press, he swooped away the second part of the Life wholly from it; in the room of which, he shuffled in a preposterous Conclusion at the last Page, which he caused to be printed in a different Character from the other, and therein could not keep himself honest, but as the Poet saith,

Dicitque tua pagina fur es.

Mart.

For

For he took out of my Copy Doctor, *Hezlyn's* Dream, his Sicknes, his last Words before his Death, and left out the burning of his Surplice, which the Doctor thought ominous, but he judged superstitious. Finally he so mangled and metamorphis'd the whole Life I compos'd, that I may say as *Sofia* did, *Egomet mihi non credo, ille alter Sofia, me malis mulcavit modis.*

Piant.

Notwithstanding all which malicious practices, misbecoming any generous man, much more a Scholar and a Divine. I did intend to trouble my self no further about him, but patiently endured the wrongs, because the writing of a Life is an exercitation of no such mighty consequence; but since he hath provoked me again, by presuming to publish a Second Life after he had so macerated the first, and endeavours to asperse my Name in these words, *viz. Many passages were excerpted out of his Papers, the very words as well as matter, when he had them in his Custody.* *Quis tulerit Gracchum?* I must retort the poysoned weapon upon his own breast, that himself is the Plagiary both of my words and matter; even by his own confession, what he hath taken

His Preface

taken out of the printed Folio, and other materials, I can make evidently appear, out of my private Manuscript, that I have given him Horns to gore me withal: And let the World judge betwixt us, which is most likely, that I am beholding to him, or he to me, for he was a mere *Ignotus* to my Father in Law. as he acknowledges. *For my own part*

Preface.

(saith he) *I never had the honour either to know Dr. Heylyn, or to be known by him.*

Therefore of all others, I think, the most unfit man in the World to write his Life, but that he is a πολυπρόσωπον, who loves to busie himself where he has nothing to do, and undertake things above his knowledge and ability.

But for those words with which he charges me, he should have been more positive; whether they are Doctor Heylyn's or his own? If the former, certainly I can claim as good a right to them as any man living, and with much more reason than he: I confess from the Doctor's Papers, of which I had a prior possession and perusal of them before him; I have faithfully drawn the Lines (to which I have added the last Period) of his Life, and something out of Prudence I have pur-

purposely omitted, because this censorious and critical Age will not bear them: But for other things, both in words and matter, which is purely the Doctors own, and without them none would presume to write on such a Subject: I have made no further use of them than the Calumniator himself hath done, and they cannot be said to be either his or mine, but must be attributed to the right Owner; viz. the Doctor himself, who left them for a Rule to guide the Writer of his Life. However I have not been surreptitious of whole pages together out of the Doctors printed volumnes, and appropriated them to my self without any Mark or Asterism as he hath done. I am no such Excerptor: But he is in the pretty humor of the man who took all the Ships in the *Attick* Haven for his own, and yet was not Master of any one Vessel.

But all this while I misunderstand him, for possibly he meaneth his own dear words I have excerpted: If it be true, why doth he not speak in plain down right English, that the World may see my faults? For every one does not know what is excerpting. If I have been so bold

Pag. 59, 60,
61, 62, 63.
Pag. 101.
102, 103.
104.

bold to pick or snap a word from him, I hope I may have the benefit of the Clergy. But he would have done well to have particularized them; and set down my Crime in capital Letters; and then I should have demonstrated with better evidence, how he hath been injurious to me: But I stand in justification of my self; what words have I robbed him of, and am become the richer for them? Truly I was never so taken with him as to be once tempted to break the Commandments, because I love plain speaking, writing, and dealing, which he does not: I hate the word excerpted, and the action imported in it: Howsoever he is a fanciful man, and thinks there is no Elegancy nor Wit, but in his own way of talking at this rate. I must say as Tully did, *Malim equidem indisertam prudentiam, quam stultam loquacitatem.*

Cic. de orat.

But how have I excerpted his matter? Then I am sure to rob the Spittle-house; for he is so poor and put to hard shifts, that he has had much ado to compose a tollerable Story, which he hath been hammering and conceiving in his mind for four years together, before he could bring forth the pretty *Fætus* of intollerable

from p. 67,
to 89.
from p. 212
to p. 227.
from p. 228
to 236.
p. 61, to
174.

able Transcriptions to molest the Readers patience and memory. How doth he run himself out of breath; sometimes for twenty Pages together and more, at other times fifteen, ordinarily nine and ten, collected out of the Doctors old Books *verbatim*, before he can take his wind again, to return to his Story. I never met with such a Transcriber in all my days: For want of matter to fill up a *Vacuum*, of which his Book was in much danger, he hath set down the Story of *Westminster*, as long as the Plowmans Tale in *Chancer*, which to the Reader would have been more pertinent and pleasant. I wonder that he did not transcribe bills of Chancery, especially about a tedious Suit that my Father had for several years about a Lease at *Norton*, that would have furnished him with matter enough. I dare boldly affirm, abating this of *Westminster*, and his unmerciful Collections out of *Certamen Epistolare* and *Theolog. Vetr.* his Book would not have exceeded the bulk of the nine *Worthies*. After his writing out folio upon folio, he endeavours to excuse himself after this manner, I hope (saith he) the perusal of those things, will be no less

less acceptable to the sober Reader, than the transcribing of them has been to my self. What if he has a mind to transcribe over all Dr. Heylyn's Writings? Must he to please his own fancy of scribbling, obtrude them upon the Reader? He was to write the Doctors Life and not his Books. Must he spend his time and paper in needless excursions, from page to page, for nine, ten, and twenty pages together? No sober Reader can endure an historical Narrative that has so many out-leaps. Such a Writer he is as *Plato* describes, *σπερδιδωκεν ἀνω καὶ κάτω*, who flurts up and down, now returning, and anon gone; sometimes in the way, but for the most part out of it, and at last sticks fast in the deep Mire. Transcriptions are so many digressions from the Theme or Subject, to which we must make a speedy return. For my part I must confess, that I have made use of several choice Collections out of my Fathers Treatises *pro re nata*, but they are brief and necessary, not superfluous nor nauseous; I appeal to the Reader, whether they clog his Stomach, or beget a fresh appetite to what follows? much less do they confound his Memory to what is

*Plat. in
Parmen.*

pre-

precedent. In other things I have offered some discourses of my own where I saw occasion, to vindicate my Learned Father: In all I doubt not, but it will manifestly appear there is a multitude of more occurrences than can be found in the late Life-Writer, which will blow away his most malicious slander of my excerpting his matter.

But what is all this to the obliquies against the most reverend Doctor himself; whose Name and Reputation he hath injur'd more than mine, by conjuring up old Ghosts, and malignant Spirits of detraction, that has been allayed and charmed down above thirty years ago, and now are raised up again to disturb his Ashes, and traduce his Name, opprobrious reports (though insignificant among wise Men) looks scandalously with the vulgar, that they had better been buried in oblivion, and perished in everlasting silence, than remembered. For nothing ought to be recorded against the party whom we love and honour, that may give his adversaries the least occasion to reproach his Name. Therefore no Man of prudence who pretends so high a reverence of
 Doctor

Doctor *Heylyn*, (as the Author doth) would have published to the world those particulars following. 1. the Earl of *Derbies* speech to him. 2. The rude usages he found in Court. 3. His writing *Mercurius Aulicus*. 4. His clandestine Marriage. 5. His Marrying a Wife without a Portion. 6. His Parishoners of *Alsford* perswaded, they should never fix eye on him, unless they took a journey to a Goal or a Gallowes. All which matters true or false are unworthy to be mentioned in the Life of so venerable a person as Doctor *Heylyn*: but they are scandals, and, for the most part, untruths, as shall appear hereafter.

Concerning his Marriage though he was my Father-in-law, I cannot excuse it from being clandestine, much less justify the contrary (as the Author does boldly) against a general known Truth, beleived by every one in the University, affirmed by all, and not denyed by the Doctor himself. I have reason to know it above others, because this was wrongfully charged upon me by Doctor *Hood* of *Lincoln* Colledg, as if I had intended to have done the like, when I desired to hold my fellowship a longer time than

the year of Grace which had been granted to others, particularly to Mr. *Cross*, Rector of *Great Chue* in *Somersetshire*, but denyed to me for this reason, which the Rector alledged against me, saying, *You are to marry Doctor Heylyns Daughter, (we hear) and you will doe as he did.* The good Man then forgetting himself that one of his own Daughters was married to a Fellow of *Lincoln-Colledge*, the Marriage was kept private, and the profit of the Fellowship received by his Son-in-Law, who shall be nameless. It is more ingenious to confess an Errour, then make a weak defence or Apology for it, that does rather aggravate than extenuate the crime: While the Author sweats to prove the Doctors Marriage was not clanculour, because he ordered it to be performed upon *St. Simon and St. Judes day between ten and eleven of the Clock in the morning in his own Colledg Chappel, in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses of both sexes, the wedding dinner was kept in his own chamber, &c.* Yet all this while it was a Marriage clancularly, a Marriage in Masquerade, a Marriage *incognito* to the Colledge, because the President and Fellows neither knew

knew, nor beleived there was a true solemnization of Marriage in their Chapel; and though some of them were invited to the wedding Dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment, and not to a Marriage. Indeed it was not clandestine against the Lawes of our Church and Realm, because the usual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the solemnization betwixt the parties, but such Marriage was expressly against the Laws and Statutes of the Colledge-Founder; and much more for a married Fellow to keep his Fellowship after. He is an absur'd Writer that will start into circumstances, and not prove the main matter which is controverted. But what mattereth it or availeth, whether the Doctors Marriage was clandestine or no? was he only the first example of this kind in the University? was not this done in his youthful dayes? *In amore hæc insunt vitia.* Aristotle will excuse a young Mans faults, that cannot be so happy either in his judgment or practise as his Elders, *ἐνὶ πάντεσσι δαιμόνιον ἔστιν* 10. *ἔγω, γὰρ περὶ τούτων τῶν ταύτων διὰ τὴν ηλικίαν.* How many Breakers are there of Colledge Statutes besides Doctor Heylyn? I
 C 2 beleive

Arist. Eth.
 lib. cap.

beleive very few Fellows, but they are faulty in some kind or other. Yet I will not go about to accuse or condemn them, nor Apologise for him further than the rule of Rhetorick will allow, and that is, *Quod negari non queat, responsione voculari eludas, & rem facias risu magis dignam quam crimine.* that which cannot really be denyed must be put off with a Jest, and so it will seem a laughing matter rather than a Crime, for which we have the Example of *Cicero*, when he was accused about Money: And so it was the Doctors case about Matrimony; the whole affair and management of it was a most pleasant humour, which he he was resolved to carry on dramatically under a disguise, and yet the same was real. *Mrs. Bride* placed at the the head of the Table, the Town Musick playing, himself waiting most part of the Dinner, and no formality wanting, all which circumstances were contrived Fallacies and yet most undeniable truths. Notwithstanding the Writer of his Life is most greivously offended, with any one that is not of his opinion about the Doctors Marriage, and the Colledge dividend, which he received betwixt that time and the

A. Gell.
lib. 12.
cap. 11.

the Resignation of his Fellowship. Saith he most Davidically, *But what shall be given to thee, or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue,* I think still it was a Clandestine Marriage, and the Doctor was after bound to restore all emoluments from that time, but the Colledge did easily forgive him, and in testimony of their Love and extraordinary respect, many years after his Marriage, did accommodate him for some time of the War with convenient Lodgings for himself, Wife, and Family, when they were driven out of all House and harbour from his two Livings, *Alsford* and *Southwam-borough*. Why then the Writer should be so rugged as to fall into uncivil terms with that noble Foundation? I see no cause for it; much less to charge them with odious things to which they themselves can best answer, if he will hearken to any reason: But he seems to me, for a time deprived, and (as it were) in a fit of Quakerism while he Canteth so dolefully, saying. *They take Bread out of the mouths of Young Students, and send them to wander in solitary wayes, being hungry, and thirsty, and their Souls ready to faint in them*

pag. 32.

Notwithstanding I cannot but commend his hearty zeal and affection toward my Father-in-law, if he knew how to guide these two good passions with reason, and common discretion: But for the most part he is a high flyer into hyperbolical comparisons, and never observeth a mediocrity betwixt too extreems, for one while he likens the Doctor to *Joseph* the Patriarch, another while to *Moses* the Prophet, and afterward sets him down in the office of *Mercurius Aulicus*, or the Kings Diurnal-maker; in which last though he endeavours to bring him off again, as well as he can, I'll warrant the cutting of *Alcibiades* Dogs tail could not cause more talk in *Athens*, then this will, among our Fanatiques. And what was the ground work of those comparisons? The Doctor is like unto *Joseph* because he lost a tryal at Law by a Jury of Taly-men. *It was not the first time (saith he) that a poor man was oppressed, and a righteous cause miscarried, but Joseph had never met those signal honours and dignities in Pharoahs Court, had he not been first sold by his Brethren for a bondslave into Egypt.* The good Doctor was like unto *Moses* for getting, a Prebendary
in

in Westminster, because (saith he) when Moses was deserted by his Parents (which was never the Doctors case, no more than the other of a bondslave) for fear of Pharaohs fury, God was pleased to provide him a Savior and a Nurse, when he was taken out of the bulrushes. Again the issue of the Doctors brain (because Books and Children are issues) was far more numerous than that of his Body: Methinks that also is no sweet nor savory comparison. Nay himself is like the Doctor, for who should give an account of the actions of Doctor Heylyn, besides Doctor Heylyn, or at least such an one who inherits his natural, if not his acquired accomplishments. The man hath a strange opinion of himself, that he is Doctor, Heylyn, because he writes his Life, that he hath his natural parts, if not acquired. The Soul of St. Augustine (say the Schools) was Pythagorically transfused into the corps of Aquin. So the Soul of Doctor Heylyn into a narrow Soul: Who can beleive it the more for his saying, that an equal, if not a double portion of his Spirit is imparted to him? I know there is a question in Philosophy *An Anima sint æquales?* Whether Souls be alike? But their's as

Page, 43.

Page,

Epist. deep

much difference betwixt those two, as between the Spirits of *Elijah* and *Elisba*. I stand amazed at his similitudes and dissimilitudes, his presumption and high conceit of himself; that so small a Prophet should go hand in hand with Doctor *Heylyn*, who is not worthy to hold water to the hands of so great an *Elijah*. He hath other examples of most wide comparison I could instance in which there ought to be *Comparatio æqualitatis vel similitudinis* but I can find no anological matter in them, but what is strangely hooked in, or fetch'd as far as the *Antipodes*,

But he is both an Astrologer and a Divine that he undertakes to calculate the Doctors Nativity, and give his Judgment thereupon? although he knows Judicial Astrology is not well approved of among Divines, and that such Astrologers are no more to be beleived than Gyplies, and Fortune-tellers, whose art is impudence and lying: As the *Chaldeans* affirmeth that the world hath continued above forty thousand years, *Laëtantius* therefore saith of them. *Se quia posse argui non putabant liberum sibi crediderunt mentiri*: because they think none can contradict them, they took the liberty to lye, and

now

laët. lib. 7.
c. 14.

now let us see his art and wonderful skill in Figure flinging. *The Birth of* pag. 1.
Doctor Peter Heylyn (saith he) according to the rules of our Astrologers, (which I suppose he means the Almanack-makers) presaged firm constitution of body, and prosperous success in the civil affairs of humane Life. For it was November 29. 1599. at Burford in the County of Oxon, between eight and nine in the morning. A most excellent Astrologist! Quem mea non totum Bibliotheca capit. Who hit the hour so exactly, on which depended all the Doctors good Fortune, between eight and nine a clock in the morning, only he forgets, the rapid motions of the Heavens in that time, which might cause great alterations: I expect he will be more satisfactory in the next horary question he publishes, for in this the rule and the example does not agree; because the Doctor had not firm Constitution of body, but many ill fits of Sicknes, a very bad head, (for he must needs tell all he knows of him) that the flesh in the fore-part of his Head rotted to the Scull, where pag. 7.
never any hair came afterward, he was sent to London, and kept to a strict Diet and frequent sweatings. God be thanked this
 was

was in the Doctors childhood, or else the World would think strange things of him. It seems some unlucky Star had a malevolent aspect upon his head, which the the Writer of his Life (though an Astrologer) did take no notice of in his Nativity, and much worse Fortune had the Doctor in the affairs of humane Life, which if they had been prosperous according to Prognostication, no doubt he had been a Bishop, and not only a sub-Dean of *Westminster*, and probably he would have preferred this Author, whom his Son designed to write his Life. But still he persists in his Astrology, *At which time (sayes he) the Sun was in the Horoscope of his Nativity, and the Houses very well disposed.* But I affirm the contrary, who think my self as great an Astrologer as he, *Non tu plus cernis, sed plus tenerarius audes.* That the Houses were very ill disposed that time, not only for the reasons I have already given, but to speak more judiciously upon the point, I find the Planets then were combust of the Sun, under a fiery triplicity, and the Lord of the ascendant in his Nativity was out of his essential dignities, the moon also *Cadent* and unfortunated by those

those Planets that had dominion in the sixth or eighth House, besides not a good Planet was then in *Cazimi* or the heart of the Sun; both the promissors and significators weak in the Radix of his Nativity; all which did signifie but indifferent good Fortune to the Doctor, sometimes prosperous and improsperous, good health and bad, no firm Constitution of body (as he saith) but infirm; often crazy, never ill but once of his Head when he was a Boy, which the Writer would for no good omit.

But I have found him out all this while where he has been tampering, and that is in Mr. *Lillys* Book of introduction to Astrology, who hath learnt him his coelestial Art, That the ☉ *presents a Man of good corporature, of healthful constitution, very humane, &c. his head quickly bald, and so the Life-Writer sayes, never any hair came afterward, when the flesh was rot-* But Mr. *Lilly* is not at all so absolute and positive in his judgment upon Nativities between the hours of eight and nine in the Morning. Indeed he is the more subtil Astrologer, for he hath out-done Mr. *Lilly* in Christian Astrology, because he can prognosticate

Chr. Astrol.
lib. 1.
cap. 111.

pag. 2.

cate and foretel from the Stars, whether a Child, when it is born, shall be baptised or no? and whether then it shall be Christened by the Minister with the sign of the cross? for (saith he) *this reverend man was in this particular fortunate, that he had the honour to carry the mark of the Cross, which was imprinted on him at the Font.* Oh strange! under what a happy constellation was the Doctor born above other Christians. I thought it had been ordinary, but this was extraordinary, because he fell not into the hands of a Non-conformist: I beleived he was signed with the Cross, because I am sure the Heavenly Houses, which first set out the Cross to *Constantine*, are allwayes well disposed to this good sign, but whether he was Christened at home, or in Church, I am not fully satisfied, and if I should hold the contrary, he cannot confute me, for according to my *Albumazar*, and other learned Autho^rs, the Heavens were then in that positure, that the Sun was separated from a square of *Jupiter*, and applyed to the square of *Saturn*, which often gives strange disappointments to things expected, so that still it remains a Question whether the Child

Child was Christened in the Font. For my part I durst not pry so far into the Doctors Nativity, much less into the Baptism or Holy Font, but that the Author incites me to it ; For I medled no further, but that he was born in a happy year with *Augustus Thuanus* the famous Historian, which I wonder escaped his dath in the printed Folio. Therefore for that kindness I will give him this counsel, and I wish he may follow it hereafter, That he would study the Doctors Books, and not his Birth ; and leave poring on his Astronomical Tables, and gazing up to the Stars, lest he should happen some ill mischance, not minding his foot-hold, like *Thales Milesius* fall into a pit, or meet with some worse disaster, some trap-door, which *Tiberius Cæsar* provided for his Astrologers, *si vanitatis aut fraudis suspicio in cesserat*. If any jealousie came into his mind they were false and treacherous.

Diog. Laert.
in vit.

Tacit. An-
nal lib. 6.

I cannot also but take notice of the Authors high opinion and conceit of himself, because he is a little Writer, All Men (saith he) have not the abilities to write Books, so neither to pass sentence on them when written. And is it not a Truth as undeniable, *Scribimus in-*
docti

Trith. de
Scrip. Eccl.
pag. 86.

Suid. Hist.

doctiq;? Are there not more Scriblers than learned Writers? The World is pestered too much with them, that swarm like Gnats and Flyes to buz the Head, and hurt the Eyes, and yet have no Hony or sweetness in them. I am of opinion, if there were fewer Books, there would be more Learning, and much better Scholars in every Age; for Authors then would be well read, digested and turned into good nourishment: Whence *Petrus Comestor*, who writ the *Historia Scholastica*, took his Name, *Comestor* *sive manducator librorum*, saith *Trithem*, *quia scripturas quasi in ventrem memorie manducarit*. An Eater of Books and good Digester of them: Now they are hastily swallowed down without chewing, and, by reason of the gross stuff, and mean feeding in most Books and Writers are converted into excrementitious matter that passies away *per latrinam*; and as *Martial* saith of a bungling Versifier in his time, *Scribit Carmina, & quæ legunt cacantes*. *Socrates* was looked upon as the chief Oracle among the Philosophers, yet he left not one Book of his own writing to Posterity, saith *Suidas*. No doubt there hath been, and is still in the

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the World, most worthy, wise and learned Men, as those who have written many vast Volumes: For modesty in some, weakness of Body (and not of Mind) in others, fear of the Worlds censure; nay, continual study and reading of Books, with which the mind of a Scholar is never satisfied, has hindred many a good Writer, so that it is no want of Faculty but Will: No Imperfection ought to be charged on Mens Abilities, who are known Scholars; but if every one of them should undertake such a work, in a short compass of time, there would be more Writers of Books *Luth. collig.* than Readers. It was a Saying of Luther, *All of us have a Pope bred in us.* That is, an opinion of our own works, though there be no merit in them, which we may apply in this Case, that most Writers are in love with their Paperworks; but the World should first judge whether there is any excellency or real worth in them, otherwise it is a fond fancy, *Narcissus* like, for any one to be enamoured with his own Shaddow. But that which is worse than all this,

I perceive the Writer is not consistent with himself, but a *γλυχῦπι* *νεκρ* according to

to the Poets words, *difficilis, facilis jucundus acerbus es idem*. Because one while he plays the Satyrift against the Fanaticks, and afterward turns Factor for the Papists, whose cause he could not plead better to please the holy Fathers of the *Ignatian* Society founded since *Luther's* time, than to render the Name of Protestant odious: 'A Name' (saith he) that imports little in it of 'the positive part of Christianity. God forbid, and let us then put this into our Litany; Lord have mercy upon our Souls who profess our selves to be Protestants and not Papists, if the positive part of Christianity be wanting among us: For by Name, what doth he or can he mean, but our Religion and Christian Profession? For the Name of Protestant it self, is but *Thema simplex*; I may say, *vox & præterea nihil*, no more is Catholick, Christian, Orthodox, or any other Name: *Nomina imponuntur rebus*, Names are given to things to diversify and distinguish them one from another, or else how are they significative of themselves? While he goes about to unchristian the Name Protestant, or at least makes it *Terminus diminuens*, a very flighty

slighty Name indeed, he endeavours to overthrow the true Protestant Religion.

For ever since the first Reformation and change of Religion wrought among us, by our just and necessary separation from communion with the Church of Rome, we and our Fore-fathers have constantly gone under the Name of Protestants, though originally I acknowledge this Name was taken up by those Princes of Germany, who adhering to Luther's Doctrine made their Protestation at *Spire* (the imperial Chamber) and afterward set forth the *Augstane* Confession; since which time, the Church of *England* having cast off the Papacy, this Name hath been the ~~notion~~ or remark of distinction betwixt us and Papists. Our Kings and Princes not only acknowledging the same, but have defended the Protestant Religion, his most sacred Majesty (whose Life God long preserve among us) in most or all his Speeches unto his High Court of Parliament, hath graciously declared to secure and defend the Protestant Interest and Religion. His Royal Father, the most glorious Martyr of our Church, but two days before his Death, told the Princess *Elizabeth*

D

beth

Vindicat.
of the sinceri-
ty of the
Prot. Rel.

p. 11, 12.

Arch Bish.
Life p. 5, 6.

beth, That he should die for the main-
taining the true Protestant Religion; and
charged her to read Arch-Bishop Laud's Book
against Fisher to ground her against Popery,
And why were the Jesuits so active
about his Death, that some of them be-
came Agitators in the Independant Ar-
my, but because it was agreed before
by the Pope and his Council (saith
Dr. du Moulin) that there was no way
for advancing the Catholick Cause in Eng-
land, but by making away the King, of
whom there was no hope to turn from his
Heresie, because he was a Protestant.
cannot omit Arch-Bishop Laud's words
at the time of his Tryal before the Lords,
Anno Dom. 1643. Saith he, Not to trouble
your Lordships too long, I am so innocent
in the business of Religion, so far from all
practice, or so much as thought of practice,
for any alteration unto Popery or any be-
wisting of the true Protestant Religion
established in England, as I was when
my Mather first bare me into the World.
In his Speech upon the Scaffold before
his Death, he saith thus of the King, I
shall be bold to speak of the King, our
gracious Sovereign; He hath been much
traded for bringing in of Popery;

ated

but

but on my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account.) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any Man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law established) as any Man in this Kingdom.

And now hath not this Name Protestant, which imports our Religion, been owned by all our Judges and Lawyers, the Lord chief Justice speaking of Papists; If they cannot (saith he) at this time live in a Protestant Kingdom with security to their Neighbours, but cause such fears and dangers, and that for Conscience sake; then let them keep their Conscience and leave the Kingdom. Mr. Justice Wild, in like manner, Had such a thing as this been acted by us Protestants in any Popish Country in the World, I doubt there would not have been scarce one of us left a live. I might bring in here Sir William Jones, Mr. Finch, Mr. Recorder of London. And truly if we are ashamed of our Name, we may be of our Religion, and cannot blame Popish Plots to subvert it, if we hold not fundamentals, which are the positive parts of Christianity. The Jesuit hawketh not for sparrows; his zeal to destroy

At the Trial
of Pick-
ering, Grose
and Ireland,
1678.

our Religion carries him through Fire and Water, Sea and Land, over Rocks and Mountains to gain a Profelyte, according to those Verses I find in *Parrens*, alluding to the Pharisee, and *Hor.* the Poet.

David Par.
Comment.
in Evang.
S. Mat.
Cap. 23.

*Impiger extremos Jesuita excurrit ad Indos
Per mare discipulum quærens, per saxa, per
ignes,
Juventumque facit, se duplo deteriorem.*

Sea, Land, Fire, craggy Rocks and
Indian Shore

A Jesuit's frantick zeal transports him
o're,

One Romish Profelyte to make, once
made

Child of the Devil twice then before,
he's said.

Nay, he hath the patience to stay at home, and there no dull Stoick can excel him in this Vertue; if he be once commanded by his Superior, he will obey though his work be no other, saith *Mapheus*, than to water a dry log of Wood for a year together; he will not presume to ask the reason why, but

*Maph. in
vita Ign.*

does

does it : Then how much more ready is he to propagate the Catholick Cause, and in order thereto adventure upon any action, if it be to the hazard of his Life, while he is commanded by his Father General at Rome, and the *Congregatio de Propaganda fide* : What will not he undertake to extirpate the Name of Protestant, and think he does God Service ; for if positive Christianity be not imported in it, then we are Negatives ; we are Jews, Infidels, Pagans, and cannot be denominated Christians, for Positive and Negative are *contradictoria* ; there can be no reconcelling or tacking them together, and according to my Logick a Contradiction is *omnium oppositorum fortissima*, the strongest and most forcible of all oppositions. But I would know what are the Principles of Protestantism, that are so contradictory to Christianity ; they must be either *credenda* or *facienda*, matters relating to Faith, or Christian practice. Do we hold any points of Faith contrary to the Primitive Catholick Church ? Or deny Obedience to the Commands of God either in his Law or Gospel ? In a word, are Protestants Christians or

no? Or only nominal and not real? I think they are the best and purest sort of Christians ever since the Apostolick times, that they come nearest the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the example of them at *Antioch*, who were first called Christians. We do not know how to distinguish men of the Church of *England* from the Church of *Rome*, but by this characteristical Name or Appellation, because in the times of Popery, as appears not only by *Linnæus* but by the constitutions of *Otho* and *Othobon*: The Ecclesiastical Body of this Nation was anciently called the Church of *England*, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and so it continueth to this day, but with this discrimination only, that we are Protestants in the Church of *England* and not Papists.

I know it will be objected this Name is abused by Fanaticks, who impudently dare arrogate it to themselves, and are ordinarily now called Protestants. What then? *Abusus non tollit usum*; they are Protestants *Catachrestice*, as Papists call themselves Catholics; And if they will boldly usurp the Name, which no way belongs to them; their Tongues

are

are their own, and they will speak: Who is Lord over us? (say they) And who can hinder them? The Hereticks of old time, who were *ex parte Donati*, of Donatus side, did the like, and yet the Orthodox deemed themselves never the worse for their Pride and Usurpation. The Name of Christian was common both to them and the Orthodox, as Optatus the good Father tells them.

Pro utrisque illud est, quod ex nobis commune est et vobis. Such Scandals are

Oplat. 1. s. c. 29.

unavoidable, therefore with patience must be born. And it was the like

complaint of Lactantius, but what Re-

medy? The Novatians, Valentianians,

Marcionites, and Ariians, said they

bet alijs nominatur Christiani, et Chri-

stiani esse deservunt, any other Hereticks

were called Christians, though they

were none. So that 'tis no wonder the

Sectaries of our Age will confidently

take upon themselves the Name of Pro-

testants; they do but as other Schisma-

ticks, who were their ancient Prede-

cessors, *Mutato nomine de se Fabula*

narratur. Yet some of the baser sort

of them, as Quakers and Independents

despise the Name of Protestant, and

Last Instit. lib. 4. cap. 30.

hold it in as great derision as the Papists do, and no doubt have learned from the foul Mouth of Father *Dolan*, alias *Parsons*, and from *Watson* in his *Quodlibets*, to call us of the Church of England, Queen Besses Protestants. However it does not become any Son of the Church, much less the Rector of *Burton*, to bite and snarl at the Name of Protestant which distinguishes him from a Mass-priest, especially in such times as ours, when Papist and Fanaticke joyn hand in hand, mouth and tongue together against us, because our Church is of Queen *Elizabeths* Religion and Reformation. A Queen notwithstanding the malicious slanders of her Enemies, the Popes Bull of Damnation against her, and the Non-Conformists now Condemnation of her: She was the most admired Princess of Europe in her time, the glory and wonder of her Sex, *etiam superæ Sexum*, saith *Thuanus*, though himself a Papist, and *Benard* the Successor of *Calvin* at Geneva gives her this Character of high praise, which methinks our Dissenters should assent unto, that she was a Queen God sent from Heaven to be a Nursing Mother

Thu. Hist.
l. 22.

at

at home unto the Church of England,
and to Protestant Churches abroad.

Let us hear his words more fully, In

Anglia opus Domini qui serenissimam

illam, & ecclesiarum non tantum Anglica-

nam fortissimam instauratricem verum

etiam peregrinarum religiosissimam nutri-

cem Elizabetham instaurandae suae Do-

mi quasi sua ipsius manu caelitus demisit.

God be thanked also the Reformation

of Religion, and the Church of England

became Protestant before her time: Our

Religion being established by Law in

the Reign of her young Brother the

most excellent Prince, Edward the 6th,

whose Laws were written in Milk, and

not in Blood, like those of Queen Mary

his Sister who succeeded him: Our

Religion and Ecclesiastical Govern-

ment by Arch-Bishops and Bishops, &c.

is still the same as was in the Reigns of

Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth

of blessed Memory, in whose time this

Kingdom was accounted *Regnum Evan-*

gelii, the Kingdom of the Gospel. Now

why our Dissenters should dissent,

why they should be so averse to the Pro-

testant Religion then established by

Law, and is now the very same in all

Articles

Theod. Bez.
de Minist.
Evang.
Grad. Pag.

ben. O. r. d.
F. 19. v. 19. 17
the Elizab.

Th. Hist. 2.
13.

Articles of Faith, Form of Worship,
and Ecclesiastical Discipline; and yet
they are not satisfied: I must profess
that I see no reason for their dissatis-
faction but Will and Humor; that they
are as they have been, and still resolve
to be of a perverse and demeritistical
Spirit, in all matters relating to Church
and State, much less cause have they to
reproach the Name of the most Re-
nowned Queen Elizabeth; which has
been held in exceeding great veneration
among all Protestants in foreign
Kingdoms; whose incomparable Ver-
tues of Learning, Piety, Prudence,
Modesty, Meekness, Stourness, and other
rare Perfections are described by ten
Poets living in her days, and are as fol-
loweth.

Chr. Olland.
Eigvax.
five Elizabeth.

O Natio, totum sapias precor Anglia patre
Edward the sixth, and Queen Elizabeth

Est grata agnoscas foveas humefacta potentis
En delit affectum divina meritis Magistrum

Imperijs, quae domo doctae ingeniosa severa
Est vultu, veneranda pudica, animosa deo

Sed et thalamis tenera modestior, comancta
In principibus vixit et vixit et vixit

Tot,

*Tot tibi contulerit, quot regna, nemo priorum
Et quæ vera Dei sit religione fruare
Papa fugit solia Patris Regina locatur.*

May be Englished thus,
O England, native Soil of mine, pay
thanks to *Jove*

The great and powerful God of Heaven
above:

No one with larger gifts he could inspire,
Than such a noble Princess for Empire;
Learn'd, ingenious, modest, meek, and
bold

England's great Scepter in her hand to
hold.

Queen of all Blessings to this Nation,
more

Hath brought than all her Ancestors be-
fore:

Gods true Religion flourish'd, Pope
he's gone,

When she ascended to her Fathers
Throne.

Let us then not be ashamed of our
Religion, nor judge the worse of it,
much less deny our Christian Name,
since our departure from the Church of
Rome, because Papists and Fanaticks
nick-

nick-name us Queen Besses Protestants. Such dirt flung upon Majesty, rebounds back with shame on their own Faces, and will hereafter to their eternal confusion, who dare reproach the Lords anointed. The Pope himself first played *Shimei's* part to throw Dirt and Stones at her, by calling her *miseram Femina* a wretched Woman; afterward followed many *Rabshakas*, especially *Sanders* and *Rishton*, who termed her *Lupam Anglicanam*, the Wolf-Bitch of England, though she had more of the Lamb than the Wolf, for she thirsted not after Blood as her Sister Queen Mary did; Finally *Parsons* alias *Cow-Buck*, a Priest's Bastard, writ a Cart-load of Libels against her. These were the Popes Birds, and many other of the same Feather employed by his Holiness, as the *Alexandrians* kept their *Ibides* to devour the Garbage of the City, and to cleanse their Streets, but they left more noisom filth of their own behind them.

Diodor. Si-
cul. l. 3.

Gods holy Law strictly chargeth, *Principem populi tui non maledices*, Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People. So it was *Tiberius* care (saith

Tacit. l. 6. *Tacitus*) *ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum*

Cesarum in ludibria & contumelias verberat,
 that the Memory of *Augustus*, and the
 Name of *Cesars*, might not be turned
 into contempt and reproach: For if
 Princes once are set down in the Chair
 of the Scornful, they will not sit long
 upon their Thrones; their Authority
 and Government is quickly despised
 when their sacred persons are vilified,
 and by every foul mouth that speaks evil
 of Dignities, the holy and reverend
 Name of King, who is a Vice-God upon
 Earth, shall be commonly profaned and
 reviled with such Antimonarchi-
 cal Men. King *James*, Queen *Elizabeth*
 Successor, the first Monarch of great
Britain, and second *Solomon* for Wis-
 dom, lived a most vexatious Life,
 that never poor King was so harassed
 with a company of unreasonable per-
 sons, both of the Popish and Puritan
 Faction, the one working under Ground
 by secret Plots and Conspiracies against
 him, for which reason he commanded the
 Dialogue between *Theodidactus* and *Phi-
 leteus* to be composed and printed;
 the other was not ashamed to play a-
 bove Board, in audacious and open
 practices, that he never could have an
 In-

Basl. Dor.
pag. 147.

Inter-regnum of peace and quietness for them, but they were continually Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; for no other reason, as he sadly complains, but because he was their King. *Crebra aduersus me* (saith he) *in tribunitis concionibus calumniae spargebantur, non quod crimen aliquod designassem, sed quia Rex eram, quod omni crimine peius habebatur.* There were frequent calumnies scattered against me in their popular Sermons, not that I had committed any crime or fault, but that I was their King, which was esteemed worse than all crimes: Their Principles we have seen by woful experience, tend to Anarchy and Confusion; which as that wise King foresaw, so he put a Hook into the Nose of the Leviathans or chief Leaders of that Faction, and counselled his Son King Charles the First, to hold the Reins strictly and not remissly over them; for by tolleration their insolences will grow intolerable: Therefore I cannot omit the solemn Protestation which at last he made, and certainly will ever be remembered by the Royal Family *Testor illum in agnum Deum, nec testamentum* (saith he) *confidenti*

falsus est mentiri, nunquam inter montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones majorem ingratitudinem aut perfidiam reperiri posse, Basil. Dor. pag. 148.

quam inter hos phantasticos nehadomes, nec patere, si pacate vivere decreveris, & hic eadem tecum patria fruatur, nisi forte patientie experienda ergo, ut Socrates dixit cum Zantippe. I take the great God to witness, as if I were making my last Will and Testament (and it is not lawful for him that maketh a Testament to lye) that there can never be more unthankfulness, or perfidiousness found among our High-land bordering Robbers, than among those Fanatic Knaves; (So the King speaks in plain terms) neither do thou suffer them to enjoy the same Country with thee, if thou purpose to live peaceably, unless perhaps for the exercise of thy patience, as Socrates lived with Zantippe.

And had not the good King reason for all this, who knew well the Geneva Bibles, and seditious Notes upon them; some of them not only teaching disobedience to Kings and Princes, but the execrable Murther of them, if they were Idolaters; but others did not only teach the lawfulness of breaking faith

and .

and promises, when it might conduce to the hurting of the Gospel, but ranked the Arch-bishops and Bishops, and all men in holy Orders of Academical Degrees, amongst those locusts in the Revelation which came out of the Pit.

And now I heartily thank the Author my Adversary, for his Narrative of Mr. *Baxter*, the Head of all the Tribes among our Non-conformists; but I wonder, he being so famous an Astrologer could not by Talismanical Figures of *Gaffarel*, without the help of other Witnesses, read Mr. *Baxter's* name in the Stars, and see how he pulled off the Picture from the Majors Neck, telling him then as he was swimming in his gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix. I admire this discovery was not made before by Art; for the proof of which the Narrator hath taken a great deal of pains in getting the Majors Hand and Seal, and Witnesses, for all which I commend him, that he has made sure work, according to the saying, *Plus annulis creditur, quam animis*, the Seals of men are more to be trusted than their Souls. Indeed the Narrative at the first sight

of

of it, seemed to me most strange and incredible, especially those words following the Story of the Picture, viz. *restored to the Poor-man now alive at Wick near Rasthorpe in Worcestershire, although at the Fight supposed to be dead, being after the wounds given him, dragged up and down the Field by the merciless Soldiers.* Mr. Baxter approving of the inhumanity, by feeding his Eyes with so bloody and barbarous a Spectacle. I was very much enclined to suspect the truth of the whole Narrative, inasmuch that I then said to a Friend, that I gave the same credit to it as to the story of Father Garnet's. That his forehead received 'a blow, as he was dragg'd upon the Stones, and where the wound was, the sign of the Cross appeared; and the Blood dropping down the Straw in the Hurdle, his Face and full Feature was printed upon the Straw, for which the Papists could produce Hands and Seals, also for Judge Seth's Finger blotting through his Glove, while he pronounced Sentence against Campian the Jesuit.

But now I crave pardon of the Narrator for my unbelief, and confess my

E

self

Job. Heigh.
Chr. Cathol

self abundantly satisfied in the truth of
all the premises concerning Mr. Baxter,
because they have been publickly at-
tested, and more fully confirmed than
before, Therefore let Mr. Baxter look
to him self and his own Conscience, and
not accuse or condemn others, much
less Doctor Heylyn, as one who speaks
of blood with pleasure. When the
sin of blood-guiltiness of a high and
barbarous nature lyes crying at his own
door, and I am sure a more than or-
dinary Repentance must expiate the
guilt of so foul a crime; for it is pec-
catis dolens, a crying sin, of which
there be four words in Scripture, as Aqui-
na collecteth us in a distich, as follows
the saw how the wound was
Stantat in calumniae sanguinis & Sodo-
mitis iniquitatis, utroque sanguinis
Uxor oppressoribus, lacerata retenta laborum.
Oppression, blood, Hirelings unpaid, So-
domy. From earth to Heaven sends a doleful cry.

Baxt. Pref.
to the A-
bridgm of
Chur. Hist.

Agist. do
lorum. do

Aquin. in
Epist. S.
Jacob cap.
5. v. 4.

Although the good Major through
Gods mercy is yeaquative, the Savage and
inhumane dealing he found at the Hands
of

of *Hurdman* and Mr. *Baxter*, his innocent blood most unjustly spilt upon the ground after so many years silence of it; now to the shame of Mr. *Baxter* makes a hideous cry: As Murder it self cannot be concealed, no more can those Actions that border upon it, but Divine Vengeance will pursue whosoever is guilty of either; which the very Heathen took notice of, when he saith *Raro antecedentem scelestum deseruit pedepena claudo*. The innocent Doctor is falsely accused of words, but now his Accuser is truly arraigned, and upon his indictment found guilty of bloody deeds: For he that is a Partizan with cruel men, or an Abettor and Encourager of them, is certainly a Pertaker with them, and not only an Accessary to the Fact but a Principal; as in all Sanguinary Causes according to our Statute Laws, there are no Accessaries but Principals; and I am sure in *Foro poli*, or the Court of Heaven, such Offenders are alike. But the Man is still alive! What then, the intention of killing him, and their leaving him for dead, is a breach of the sixth Commandment; as if it were actual homicide: Murther was intended,

Hor. car.
lib. 3. Ob. 2.

Mr. Baxter standing by, not once reproving *Hurdman*, but setting him thereon by his own example, calling the Major Rogue; I say it had been Murther with all cruelty to the height, (if the poor man had dyed) because it is against the Law of Arms, after a Battel fought, to kill our Enemy in cold blood. And as the Case now stands aggravated with all the Circumstances alledged, Mr. Baxter can no ways acquit himself, because he cannot be ignorant of this Rule, *Nullum Præceptum consistit in indivisibili*, that no Precept of Gods Law is tyed up to one single or individual act, but has a greater latitude in it; as all kinds of Murther is forbidden, whether of the heart, tongue or hand, unmercifulness, cruelty, revenge, hatred, malice is Murther; *Whosoever hateth his Brother* (saith the Apostle) *he is a Murtherer, and you know that no Murtherer hath eternal Life in him.* Also every Precept of Gods Law is both affirmative and negative; under the affirmative, all duties that possibly can be reduced to it are implied, and under the negative, which is of greater force, because it binds *ad semper* (as the

Quid interest an gladio teneas, an lingua percutias, indubitanter homicida est? *Op. at. Milen. lib. 2. p. 69.*

the Schools say) all things which come within the verge of it, as cruelty, inhumanity, &c. are absolutely forbidden.

Mr. *Baxters* personal presence gave countenance to the bloody action, much more in being a delightful Spectator of it, which ought to have been abhorred by him. *Nero* himself could not behold bloody Tragedies though he commanded them, saith the Historian, *Et iussit* Tacit. in vita Agric. *scelera Nero non spectavit*: Much more barbarous actions are hateful to the Eyes of all Christians; that *Constantine* after his Conversion, by publick Edict, did forbid all monstrous and bloody Spectacles in the Amphitheater. Euseb. in vita Const. For a Minister of Jesus Christ, (as he calls himself) who preaches against hardness of heart, to be so cruel hearted himself, as not to pity a poor Christian weltring in his blood and wounds, for the cause only of his King and Country; to shew no mercy, nor Christian compassion towards him, not so much as we would do to a Turk or an Infidel, but call him Rogue, Popish Rogue, violently pulling from his Neck the Kings Picture, and seeing him dragg'd up

and down in the Fields by merciless Souldiers. *Honescò réferens*. It was a more lamentable sight than the *Spectacula nefranda*, when Christians were torn in pieces by wild Beasts in the Roman Theater.

I must therefore say to Mr. Baxter, as the High-priest, *Εἰ ἀγατὰ ταῦτα ἔχει*, Are these things so? I sincerely wish from my heart that he may, and I hope he will repent, and ask God and the Major forgiveness, which is the least part of penance and satisfaction he can perform for so heinous an Offence; and till then, with what confidence can Mr. Baxter preach to his Auditors? being a silenced Minister both by the Laws of the Land and his own Conscience, that must needs fly in his face, and sorely exagitate him, as it was once the Case of *Origen*, who sinned not maliciously, but out of fear and cowardice to save his life: This Scripture struck him to the heart; *Why dost thou preach my Laws, and takest my Covenant in thy mouth, whereas thou hatest to be reformed, and hast cast my words behind thee*. If Mr. Baxter will look out of his broken Church History, into true Ecclesi-

clesiastical History, he shall find *Origen's* Repentance set forth by *Suidas* for a most excellent Example to imitate. He was called *Syntacticus* for compiling many Books, in which Mr. *Baxter* does strive to follow him, in writing many Books, full of Errors, but not so learnedly erreth as *Origen* did; and and probably if he will not leave the odious quality of abusing reverend and worthy men, his Books may hereafter run the same fortune with *Origens*, to be publickly condemned. For

He cannot forbear railing upon Dr. *Heylyn*, after he hath laid in his Grave near twenty years: Speaking of the late Wars, saith he, *Not only Lads that knew it not, but Heylyn, the great Re-proacher of Reformers, would make men believe that it was Presbyterians in England that began the strife and War. What Heylyn? There be many Heylyns in England; which of them? So profest an Enemy he is to Degrees, because he was himself (I hear) never a Graduate or an University-man, that he is a Despiser of those Dignities in others. For his insolency in this kind, and errors in other matters, he was once soundly*

Baxt. Pref. to his Abridgment of Church Hist.

swinged by the Doctor and the Correction put an end to all the Epistolary Controversies between them, that he was fain then to lower his Top-sail, and durst never appear in the Doctors time, top and top gallant: In revenge of which, and therein he thinks he hath done a great Act, not to call him so much as *Peter Heylyn*, Mr. *Heylyn*, or Good-man *Heylyn*; nay, he will not allow him a Christian Name, because he will be out of Charity with him both alive and dead. This is the man that professeth so much mortification, humility and self-denial: Yet no man swelleth with more spiritual pride, *Mare Adriatico superbior*. But why is *Heylyn* a Reproacher of the Reformers? I cannot tell, unless this be accounted a reproach (which rather tendeth to his credit) that he is an impartial Writer of Histories, relating the naked Truth of things without respect of Persons, and chiefly, because he utterly dislikes such a Reformation of Religion, that is carried on in a popular and tumultuary way, which I think cannot be justifiable neither by Law, Reason, nor Scripture, nor by all the Learning Mr. *Baxter* hath

hath, or ever shall have to prove the contrary. I appeal to the ancient Fathers, and the primitive Christians in the first Centuries, whether this was judged by them, an approvable way of Reformation, that is effected by the vulgar sort, (who are not competent Judges of Religion) but by the Authority of the Christian Magistrate, with the advice and good counsel of the Clergy, which is the only regular and most Scriptural way; the other bends to Sedition, Blood-shed, and Confusion, if it be left to the Multitude: Which caused the good Father to complain of the *Donatists*. *Basilicas*

invasistis, multi ex numero vestro, per loca plurima, cruentas operati sunt cædes. *Oplat. Milen. l. 2. p. 54.*

And what outrageous acts were done by the *Donatists*, against Churches, Altars, consecrated Vessels, and necessary utensils for the Sacrament? *Hæc omnia furor vester aut rasit, aut fregit, aut removit,* *lib. 6. p. 154*

saieth Oplatus. All these things your fury hath raz'd down or defaced, or taken them away. And hath not this been the practice of some Reformers? God be thanked not in the Church of *England*, and let other Churches of the

the reformed Religion look to themselves; I am sure it is a detestible Principle, which the Primitive Christians from their hearts did abhor, that if the Magistrate will not reform the Church and State, then the people must. Their Piety and Patience is most exemplary to us; that we should rather suffer for true Religion, than make resistance or Reformation by rebellion. It was a seditious saying of *Donatus*. *Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the Emperor to do with the Church? But be he either Heathen or Christian, and if Christian, either Orthodox or Heterodox in the Faith, the good Catholicks did not then seek to establish their Religion, *vi & armis*, much less without his Authority, or at least connivance of their Emperors, publickly exercise their Religion.

ibid. lib. 3.
pag. 81.

Secondly that which so embitters Mr. Baxter against Dr. Heylyn, is, (saith he) That Heylyn would make men believe, that it was *Presbyterians* in England, that began the late Strife and War. And who believes otherwise, but they who have a bloody mind to War again? Have we not seen it with our Eyes, and others who

who were unborn then, have heard with their Ears the same, by many Witnesses and Writers besides Dr- *Heylyn*. What, must men deny their senses? It is not in the power of the Doctor, nor any other, to possess people with a belief and perswasion of things, whether they will or no; but as they appear evident to sense, reason or understanding, they give credit to them accordingly. Mr. *Baxter* imitates the Papists; He thinks of the War, as they do of the Gun-powder Plot, that it is so long ago, it must be either forgotten, or cannot be proved: He and those of his Tribe, would be blowing their Trumpets again for a second War, and cry out, to your Tents O *Israel*; but God in his mercy I hope will preserve the Land, that is grown more wise by sad experience of the late troubles, than to be twice deceived. The pretence of Reformation and Reformers, (whose Credit Mr. *Baxter* would still hold up, he cannot endure they should be touched) was the *Pulchra Laverna* of Rebellion, both in *England* and *Scotland*. Who were the first Reformers but the Presbyterians? Who was it? An Episcopal man

S^o 15 Plea
P. 196.

man or a Presbyterian, that said *Strike the Basilick vein, for nothing else will cure the plurisy of our State?* and after followed the fatal stroke given upon the Lords anointed, to the terror and consternation of the whole Kingdom, but much more to the shame and confusion of it. And how many years after was this Nation ridden with the Reformers? That it might have been called instead of *France*, *Regnum Asinorum*, for the unmerciful loads of Oppression it groaned under; till at last wearied and tired out with them, it kickt off her Riders, and I am confident will never take to them again. For what were the fruits of the godly Reformation? Sacriledge and a continued Rebellion, Church and Crown Robberies; the King deprived of all his Right and Revenues, and the Church of her ancient Demesns and Dignities; from both which (as no good consequence any one might conceive) did follow a horrible Anarchy and confusion; not only Dr. *Heylyn*, but the World it self is judge of these things, whether the Presbyterians were not the Principal, and I may say the only causes of the late Wars, and those

those evils attending them. I think the Doctor set the Saddle upon the right Horse.

But I am sure Mr. *Baxter* doth not, when he puts Lads and Dr. *Heylyn* together, who are *advocates*, and very irreverently conjoyned together; yet perhaps those Boys think themselves as good Men as Mr. *Baxter*, and possibly to have as much Learning, however more discretion in them than appears in him, who shamefully complains of his feebleness to his Wife: For modesty sake I dare not set down the words, written at the end of his Letter to her, which he hath printed in his Narrative of her Life. But who are these Lads that knew not the War, and yet will be talking of it? I very well apprehend his meaning, and confess I was then but a Youth, but now am old and gray-headed, that what I have written I hope to make good, and fear not to meet Mr. *Baxter* upon a fair Challenge any where in the half-way, except between *Lynsel* and *Longford*. In the mean while, he who Styles himself so proudly in the Title page of his Church History, *Richard Baxter* a Hater

Mr. *Baxt.*
Breviat. of
her Life
P. 73

Baxt. Pref.
to Ch. Hist.

Hater of false Histories : Let him not falsifie Dr. Heylyn, nor others, who approve themselves truer Historians than himself, whom I now attach for falshood in saying this scandalous story of the Doctor. *That he himself had laid much of the War on the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and on the Parliaments complaints of Popery, Arminianism and arbitrary illegalities.* In his Hist. of Presb. pag. 465. pag. 470. In all which pages ne *vv* quidem, there is not a word or syllable can be found of these things; nor to such purpose; that I wonder he hath the face to charge Dr. Heylyn with them, when he professeth himself to be a Hater of false Histories, no sooner the word is out of his mouth, but within a page or two he makes this abominable falsity. I do suspect him now more than ever about Major Jennings business, and conclude him to be guilty. Could any one rationally think, that the Doctor (who in all his Time and Books, appeared a most zealous Champion for the Bishops) and in that cause I may say was Dr. *Irrefragabilis*) would lay to their charge much or little, that they were procatal causes of the War; especially when

when he vindicates them in all his Writings from this malicious aspersion, which the Puritan Faction would have thrown upon them. He was not a man of contradictions like Richard Baxter in most of his Writings, for which every Lad is apt to lug his Beard, as the Poet said of the Stoick, *vellet tibi barbam lascivæ pueri* — No, no, he had a wiser Head-piece, and better Memory than any Baxter: That he never exposed himself to shame or censure for any contradiction that could be found in all his Writings. *Qualis ab inepto processerit, & sibi constet.*

Instead of Mr, Baxters Allegation, the Doctor tells us in the same page 464, 465. that the Assembly of Divines (so called) in their Confession, larger and lesser Catechism, held forth such a Doctrine touching Gods Decrees, that they gave occasion of receiving the old Blastian Heresie, in making God to be the Author of Sin; 'that the Bill against Bishops he observes took date from the fifth of November, the day designed on the blowing up of the Parliament by the Gun-powder Traytors, that notwithstanding the House of Commons had

'had taken the Scotch Covenant, they
 'never intended to set up Scotch Pres-
 'bytery, only held fair quarter with
 'them for a time, because in April, 1646.
 'They published this following Declara-
 'tion. *That they were not able to consent*
to the granting of an arbitrary and unli-
mitted Power and Jurisdiction to near
ten thousand Judicatories to be crected in
the Kingdom, which could not be consistem
with the fundamental Laws and Govern-
ment of it, and which by necessary conse-
quence did exclude the Parliament from
having any thing to do in that Jurisdiction.
 'Page 470. the Doctor tells us again, That
 'the English Puritans laid their heads
 'and hands together to embroil the
 'Realm, out of a confidence, that
 'having alienated the greatest part
 'of the Tribes from the House of David,
 'they might advance the golden Calves
 'of Presbyterians in Dan and Bethel,
 'and all other places whatsoever in the
 'Land; and for the maintenance there-
 'of, had devoured in conceit all Chap-
 'ter Lands, and parcelled them amongst
 'themselves into Augmentations: But
 'no sooner had they driven this bar-
 'gain, but a Vote passed for selling
 those

‘those Lands, towards the payment of
 ‘those debts of the Common-wealth. Nor
 ‘have they lived to see their dear Presby-
 ‘tery settled, or their lay Elders entertain-
 ‘ed in any one Parish of the Kingdom.

Now I have recited all those passages
 out of the pages Mr. Baxter refers us
 to ; what hath he gained to his cause,
 but a confutation of it ? As it was said
 of Cæsar’s Conspirators, *ijsdem pugioni-*
bus, quibus Cæsarem foderunt, se occi-
derunt. With the same Daggers they
 stabbed *Julius Cæsar*, they killed them-
 selves, So Mr. Baxter hath destroyed
 himself and the good old Cause with
 his own Weapons, by reciting Dr. Hey-
 lyn against Dr. Heylyn : The Dr. though
 dead, he yet speaketh, and hath van-
 quished his living Adversary : For what
 man out of these premises could draw
 a conclusion, except Mr. Baxter by his
Kedermister Logick, that Heylyn had
 laid much of the War upon the Arch-
 Bishops and Bishops, &c. when there is
 no mention of War or Bishops in the
 Case : No *quantum* to be found of much
 or little in it ; no *minimum quod sic* :
 ‘Nay, nothing at all to prove Mr. Bax-
 ter’s position and scandalous defamation
 F of

of the Doctor: Therefore I must say to him the words of the old Comedian. *Dehinc & quiescat, porro moneo, & desinat maledicere, ne malefacta noscat sua.* If the Dr. himself had been still living, (as some of his Elders are) neither Mr. Baxter, Mr. Hickman, nor M. Burnett, no one of them durst have adventured a single Duel with him in any point of Learning; but he would have said to every such Gladiator, as Cicero did to Mark Antony. *Catiline gladios contempsit, non pertimescam tuos.* But now he hath neither hand nor sword, but is disarmed by Death. — *miserandum & flebile corpus*, it is no sign of true Vertue, or noble Valour in them; much less of a good Cause on their side, to insult ignobly over a dead Lion. As for Mr. Baxter, who will not let him rest quietly in his Grave, if my fraternal correction cannot amend him, I wish he may remember his good Wifes rebuke and deserved correction, she gave him, by his own confession. That he should make fewer Books, and write them better.

Baxt. Brev.
of her Life
pag. 89.

And I think this good counsel had not been unseasonable to the late Writer

ter

ter of Dr. *Heylyn's* Life, to have transmitted that Task to any other person, who had been an ancient Friend and Acquaintance of the Doctors, rather than ambitiously assumed it upon himself, who was a professed Stranger to him; by reason of which, no better account could be expected from him than what he has given, and that is unsatisfactory, a Life to the half, an imperfect Creature, that is not only lame, (as the honest Book-seller said) but wanteth Legs, and all other integral parts of a Man, nay the very Soul, that should animate a Body like Dr. *Heylyn*. I am sure no man except himself, who was totally ignorant of the Dr. and all the circumstances of his Life, would have engaged in such a work, which was never primarily laid out or designed for him; but by reason of some unhappy differences, as usually fall out in Families, and he who loves to put his Ore in troubled matters, instead of closing them up hath made them wider. Otherwise it is not material who had writ the Doctors Life, so it had been done by an able hand of a more knowing person; therefore I must say of him

Plut. in vit.
Grac

as Plutarch doth of Tib. Gracchus, πρὸ λεγὲν ἐτοιμάλαιος πρὸ θάρρειν ἡμαλάλαιος, he is a bold Undertaker, and rash Talker of those matters he does not understand: And so I have done with him, unless he creates to himself and me a future trouble.

Now I hope any ingenious Reader will plainly see, I am forced to a just and necessary Vindication of my self.

Hor. Epod.

Si quis me atro dente petiverit inultus, ut flebo puer? and chiefly of my Father in Law; to whom as I am bound in gratitude for the favours I received from him in his Life time, so I could do no less than perform this little Task of writing his Life, and that without passion and partiality, being free from motives of both, as the Historian said, *Quorum Causas procul habeo*. However for holding the Reader in so long suspense, I have endeavoured to make a mends in the following Life, which in a manner I have composed new, retaining only what I had before written, and still remains in the printed Folio, entitled *Keimelia Ecclesiastica*; but now with that, (which was so shamefully abused) I am sure the Work is complete and perfect, and

Cor. Tacit.
lib. 1.

and I hope will afford this general benefit; First to encourage all young Scholars in the Love of Learning by the Example of so Reverend a Divine, and excellent Historian as Dr. Heylyn. And secondly, to remind others of some principal transactions both in Church and State during his time. And so I conclude in the words of *Salust.* *Age nunc, illa videamus Judices, quæ consecuta sunt.*

THE
L I F E
O F T H F

Most Reverend and Learned DIVINE,
Dr. *PETER HEYLYN*.

TO write the Lives of worthy I.
Personages, was ever accounted a most laudable Custom among the *Heathens*: For to perpetuate the Memory of the Dead, who were eminent in *Vertue*, did manifestly conduce to the publick benefit of the Living; much more the Ancient *Christians* in their time, both solemnly retained this Practice, and adjudged it an Act of *Piety* and *Justice* to the Deceased; If they were Men of *Fame* for *Learning* or other Vertues, to celebrate their Praises to Posterity; and by this means stir'd up Emulation in others

to follow so noble *Precedents* before them.

- II. For which Cause, St. Jerome writ his *Catalogus illustrium Virorum*, before whom also *Eusebius* with others in short recorded to future *Ages*, the holy Lives of those Primitive Fathers, who were signally active or passive for the Christian Faith. *Suum cuiq; decus posteritas rependit*, (saith the Historian) Posterity doth render to every man the Commendation he deserves.

Tacit. lib. 4.

- III. Therefore for the Reverend Doctor's Sake, and in due *veneration* of his Name, which I doubt not is honoured by all true *Sons* of the Church of *England*, both for his learned Writings and constant Sufferings, in defence of her Doctrine and Discipline established by *Law*: Here is faithfully presented to them, a true and complete Narrative of his Life; to answer the common Expectations of men in this Case, who would read his *Person* (together with the ordinary and extraordinary occurrences of Providence that befel him) as well as his *Books*, that were long before published to the World.

- IV. To give satisfaction in the former, here

here is nothing inserted 'but the Relations of *Truth*, which hath been often heard from his own *Mouth* (spoken to his dearest Friends, or written by his *Pen* in some loose fragments of Paper, that were found left in his Study after his Death; upon which, as on a sure Foundation, the whole *Series* and Structure of the following Discourse is laid together; but would have been more *happily* done, if he had left larger *Memoirs* for it. Nothing was more usual in ancient times, than for good men (saith *Tacitus*) to describe their own Lives. *Suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt*, upon a confidence of their right behaviour, rather than to be supposed any arrogancy or presumption in them.

In vita Jul. Agricol.

First of all I shall begin with his *Birth*. V.
In that Country above all other *enobled* with the famous seat of the Muses, to which he was a constant *Votary*; By *Cambden Oxford* is called the Sun, Eye, *Cambd. Brit.* and Soul of Great *Brittain*; by *Matthæw Paris* the second School of the Church, *Cosmog. fol. 306.* by the Reverend Doctor, co-eval to *Paris*, if not before it, the glory of this

this Island and of the Western parts: Yet it cannot be denied, as high praises have been attributed by Learned Men to the most famous University of *Cambridge*, that I dare make no comparisons betwixt those two Sisters of *Minerva* for the Love I owe to either of them, who were both my dear Nurses: However the University of *Oxon* was long since honoured with the Title of *Generale Studium in nobilissimis quatuor Europæ Academiis*, and this glorious Title conferred upon none else in former times, but the Universities of *Paris* in *France*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and *Salamanca* in *Spain*. Near which *Oxon* or noble *Athens*, he was born at *Burford*, an ancient Market Town of good Note in the County of *Oxford*, upon the 29th. day of *November*, Anno Dom. 1600. In the same year with the celebrated Historian *Jacob. August. Thuanus*, on both whom the Stars poured out the like benign influences: But the former, viz. *Peter Heylyn*, had not only the faculty of an Historian, but the gift of a general Scholar in other Learning, πολυμαθὴς αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πᾶσι πάντας παιδευμένος, as will appear to any one that reads his laborious Writings.

Ex Angel.
Rocha pag.
214.

Quenst.
Dialog. de
Pat. illust.
vir.

Hē

He was second Son of *Henry Heylyn* Gentleman, descended from the ancient Family of the *Heylyns* of *Pentre-Heylyn* *Cosmog.* in *Montgomeryshire*, then part of *Powis-Land*, from the Princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were Hereditary Cup-bearers; for so the word *Heylyn* doth signifie in the Welch or Brittish Language; an honourable Office in most Nations, which we find in *Divine* as well as *Prophane* History; whereby *Nehemiah* became so great a Favorite with *Artaxerxes*, that he obtained a Grant for the rebuilding of the holy City. *Magni honoris erat Pincerna munus apud persas*, saith *Alex.* ab *Alex.*

VI.

If *Camden Clarencieux* be of good Authority, (as with most he is unquestionable) the Doctor deriveth his Pedigree from *Grono-ap Heylyn*, who descended from *Brockwel Skythrac*, one of the Princes of *Powis-Land*, in whose Family was ever observed, that one of them had a *Gag-tooth*, and the same was a notable omen of good Fortune; which Mark of the Tooth is still continued in the Doctors Family. These and such like signatures of more wonder-

VII.

Justin. lib.
15.

derful form, are indeed very rare yet not without Example: So *Seleucus* and his Children after him, were born with the Figure of an *Anchor* upon their Thigh, as an infallible mark of their true geniture, (saith *Justin*) *Origenis* *hujus argumentum etiam posteris mansit, si quidem filij, nepotesq; ejus anchoram in femore veluti notam generis naturalem habere.*

VIII.

The aforesaid Grono-ap Heylyn, from whom the Doctor is one of the *Descendents*, was a man of so great Authority with the Princes of *North-Wales*, that *Llewellen* the last Prince of the Country, made choice of him before any other, to treat with the Commissioners of *Edward* the First, King of *England*, for the concluding of a final *Peace* between them, which was accordingly done; but afterwards *Llewellen*, by the perswasion of *David* his Brother, raised an Army against the King, that were quickly routed, himself slain in Battel: and in him ended the Line of the Princes of *North-Wales*, who had before withstood many puissant Monarchs, whose attempts they always frustrated by retiring into the heart of their

their Country, and (as the Doctor
saith) *leaving nothing for their Enemies* Cosm. fol. 326.
*to encounter with but Woods and Moun-
tains after they had reigned Princes of
North-Wales for the space of four hundred
and five years.* A goodly time, that scarce-
ly the greatest Monarchies in the World
have withstood their fatal period and
dissolution, as Chronologers usually Alsted. Chr. Synch.
observe. *Anni quingenti sunt fatalis Peri-
odus Regnorum & rerum publicarum,* saith
Alsted.

But this little Monarchy of Wales, IX.
may be compared to a Finger, or Toe,
or the least joynt *indiscernable* in the
vast *Body* of the four great Empires,
and yet withal shows the *mutability* of
them, and all worldly Powers: That
Time will triumph in the *Ruin* of the
strongest States and Kingdoms, as is
most excellently represented to us by
Nebuchadnezzar's Image of Gold, Silver,
Iron and Brass, that mouldred away,
though durable Mettal, because it
stood upon feet of *Clay*: So unstable
are all mortal things. And of no longer
duration (are the most high and mighty
Powers under Heaven) than the Brit-
tish Monarchy; which caused the Histo-
rian

rian to complain, that the more he meditated with himself of things done both in old and latter times, *tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotijs obversantur*. 'So much the more (saith he) the uncertainties and mock Vanities of Fortune in all worldly Affairs came to his remembrance.

Tacit. lib.3.

- X. Notwithstanding those great alterations in Wales, no longer a Kingdom of it self, but *annexed* to the Crown of England, the Family of *Pentre Heylyn*, from whom the said *Groro-ap Heylyn* descended in a direct Line, removed not their station for all the Ages past, but continued their *Seat* until the year *An. Dom. 1637*. At which time Mr. *Rowland Heylyn*, Alderman and Sheriff of London, and Cousin German to Dr. *Heylyn's* Father, dying without *Issue male*, the *Seat* was transferred into another Family, Into which the *Heiresses* married. This Mr. *Rowland Heylyn* was a man of singular Goodness and Piety, that before his Death, caused the Welch or Brittish Bible to be printed at his own charge in a portable Volume, for the benefit of his Country men, which was before

Arch-Bish.
Life p. 152.

fore in a large *Church Folio*; also the *Practice of Piety* in Welch; a Book though common, not to be despised; besides a Welch *Dictionary* for the better understanding of that Language: All which, certainly was a most pious work, notwithstanding their *opinion* to the contrary, who think that the Bible in a vulgar Tongue, is not for Edification but Destruction. Yet God hath been pleased in all Ages, to stir up some devout men of publick Spirits, as *Sixtus Senensis* the Monk, confesseth that Christians may read the holy Bible to their own Edification and Comfort, and not be kept hood-wink'd in blindness and heathenish ignorance. Not to mention what other Nations hath done, King *Alfred* caused both the Old and New Testament to be published in the vulgar Tongue for the benefit of this Land; and in the Reign of *Richard* the Second; the whole *Scripture* was set forth in English, as *Polyder Virgil* testifies, that when the Parliament endeavoured to suppress the same, *John* Duke of *Lancaster* stood up in defence thereof, saying, *We will not be the refuse of all men, for other Nations have Gods Laws*

Bellar. de verb. d. l. 2. c. 15. Potulus non capit fructum sed detrimentum.

Six. Sen. Bib. l. 6.

Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. 120.

Laws in their own Language, so ought we
Therefore seeing such noble Precedents
of godly Zeal, for the general instructi-
on of the People; it was a most ex-
cellent *work* of the good Alderman Mr.
Rowland Heylyn, to print those Welch
Bibles, which were before rare and
costly, but now grown common in
every mans hand, and in his own Mo-
thers Tongue.

XI.

As the Doctor was of honourable ex-
traction by his Father's side, so his Mo-
thers Pedigree was not *mean* and *con-*
temptible, but answered the Quality of
her Husband, being a Gentlewoman of
an *ancient* Family, whose Name was
Eliz. Clampard, Daughter of *Francis*
Clampard of *Wrotham* in *Kent*, and of
Mary Dodge his Wife descended in a
direct Line from *Peter Dodge* of *Stop-*
worth in *Cheshire*, unto whom King *Ed-*
ward the First gave the Seigniory or
Lordship of *Paden hugh* in the Barony of
Coldingham, in the Realm of *Scotland*;
as well for his special Services that he
did in the Seige of *Barwick* and *Dunbar*,
as for his valour showed in several
Battels, *Encontre son grand Enemy, &*
Rebelle Le Baillol Roy d' Escose & Vassal

d' Angle terre. as the words are in the original Charter of Arms given to the said Peter Dodge by Guyen King of Arms, at the Kings command, dated April the 8th. in the 34th. year of the said King Edward the First. One of the Descendants from the said Peter Dodge was Uncle to Dr. Heylyn's Mother, and gave the Mannor of Lechlade in the County of Gloucester, worth 1400 l. per An. to Robert Bathurst Esq; Uncle to the Doctor, and Father to the Loyal Knight and Baronet Sir Edward Bathurst lately deceased.

Ibid. the Dr. saith he hath this Charter in his custody.

The Doctor in his green and tender years was put to School at Burford (the Place of his Nativity and Education) under the care of Mr. William North, then School-master; by whose good Instructions and his own wonderful Ingenuity, he grew up to that proficiency in Learning, that he was admired both by his Master and Scholars; because his entrance into the Free-School, was at the time of Child-hood, when he was but six yearsold; betwixt which time and the space of four years after, he plyed his Book so well, that he appeared more than an ordinary Latinist, being Composer of

XII.

G

several

several Exercises both in Prose and Verse, particularly a Tragy-Comedy upon the Wars and Destruction of Troy, with other exercises Historical, which fore-shewed what an excellency he would after attain unto in all kind of generous Learning.

XIII.

Such early Blossoms are for the most part *blasted*, or seldom bring forth *fruit* to ripeness and perfection; that few Examples can be named of precocious Wits, as have been long Liv'd, or come near to the years of Old Age, as the Doctor did; excepting one famously known above others, *Hermogenes* the Rhetorician; of whom it was said,

Suid. Hist. ὁ ἐν παῖσι γέγονεν ἐν δὲ γέγραται παῖς. He was an old Man when he was a Child, and a Child when he was an old Man: In his Child-hood he was often brought before *Marcus Ant.* the Roman Emperor,

Suid.

who delighted to hear his Talk, for the natural Eloquence that flowed from him: But though he lived long, his Wit and admired Parts soon decayed; and for his long Life, saith *Rhodigimus* of him, *ut unus ex multis* he was one (as it were) of a thousand. Yet a Reverend Father of the Christian Church,

*C. Rhodig.
Ic& An-
tiq. l. 21. 16.*

Church the glory of his time, St. *Augustine*, did far excel *Hermogenes* the Orator; for he tells us in his Confessions, that in *secunda pueritia*, that is about the Age of twelve, *Legisse & intellexisse Logicos & Rhetoricos Aristotelis Libros*, he read and understood the Books of *Aristotles* Logick and Rhetorick; by which Learning and Study of Divinity, well managed together, St. *Augustin* appeared the only Champion in the Field for the Orthodox Faith, confounded the *Manichees*, *Donatists*, and other *Hereticks*; and finally he lived to a great old Age, a Blessing which ordinarily accompanied the Primitive Bishops and holy Fathers, and still is continued, as may be observed, to the worthy Prelates of our Church: But to find many of prodigious Wits and Memories from Child-hood, and for such Persons to live unto extraordinary years, and keep up their wonted Parts, most Vigorously after they are turned *Sixty*, which is the deep *Autumne* of Mans Life; I believe Dr. *Heylyn* had the happy Fortune in Youth and Age above many others, that his Vertues and excellent Abilities kept equal ballance together for all his Life,

S. *August.*
Confel. l. 4.

Valer.
Max. l. 8.
c. 13.

XIV.

primus ad extremum similis sibi -- that as he began happily, so he went on; like *Isocrates* his Master, who being always the same, could say, *Nil habeo quod senectutem meam accusem*. He had nothing to accuse his old Age with.

After he was first disciplin'd under his Master *North*, whom Death took from the School to another World, he was committed to his Successor Mr. *Davis*, a right worthy Man and painful Schoolmaster, who train'd him up in all points of Learning befitting a young Scholar for the University; where he was admitted at the fourteenth year of his Age Commoner in *Hart-hall*, and put under the Tuition of Mr. *Joseph Hill* an ancient Batchelor of Divinity, and formerly one of the Fellows of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, but then a Tutor in *Hart-hall*; After whom Mr. *Walter Nembery*, a zealous Puritan in those days, undertook the Charge of him, who little thought his Pupil would afterward prove so sharp an Enemy to the Puritan-faction: But by the help of his two Tutors, who faithfully discharged their Office in reading Logical Lectures to him, and other kind

kind of Learning; his own Industry also, and earnest desire to attain unto *Academical Sciences*, setting him forward beyond his years and standing, he was encouraged by his Tutor and good Friends (who saw his Parts were prodigious) to stand for a Demy's Place in *Magdalen Colledge* at the time of their Election: But he being very young, and the Fellows already preingaged for another, he missed the first time, as is usual in this Case; with which disappointment he was not at all discouraged, but cheerfully followed the course of his Studies; and among other Exercises for recreation sake, and to shew his Wit and Fancy, he framed a Copy of Verses in *Latin*, on occasion of a pleasant Journey he took with his two Tutors to *Woodstock*, which Verses he presented to the President and Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, who at the next Election in the year 1615. unanimously chose him Demy of the *House*, where soon after he was made Impositor of the Hall, which Office (no small honour to him being then but fifteen years of Age) he executed with that trust and diligence, that the Dean of the Colledge

continued him longer in it than any of his Predecessors; for which he was so envied by his Fellow Demies (as that malignant passion is always the *Concomitant* of honour) that they called him by the Name of *perpetual Dictator*. About the same time, being very eager upon his juvenile Studies, he composed an English Tragedy, called by him *Spurius*, that was so generally well liked by the Society, that Dr. *Langton* the President, commanded it to be acted in his Lodgings.

- XV. After those and many other *Specimina Ingenii*, fair Testimonies of his Wit and Schollarship, he easily obtained his *grace* for the Degree of Batchelor of Arts in the year 1617. Then according to the Colledge Statutes and Custom, that requires some *Exercise* to be performed by a *junior* Batchelor in the long Vacation; he read several Lectures of *Geography* to which his Genius naturally led him, and carried them on so pleasantly in a *new Method* not observed by others, by joyning *History* with *Cosmography* that made the Work very delightful; For scarce any memorable Action done in any Na-

tion,

tion, Country, or famous City in the World, but he hath *recorded* it, which was a wonderful Task for a Youth of his years; that all his *Auditors*, grave Fellows as well as others, was struck into deep admiration of his profound Learning and Wisdom; that forthwith the whole Society, *nemine contradicente*, admitted him Probationer Fellow in the Place of Mr. Love, and that before such time he had fully finished the reading of his Lectures: And for a further encouragement of him in his *Studies*, being also a good Philosopher as well as Geographer, the Colledge chose him Moderator of the *Senior Form* in the Hall, that brought both credit to his Name and profit to his *Purse*; for which in Gratitude to them, as he ever shewed a grateful mind to his Patrons and Benefactors, he presently writ a Latin Comedy, called by him *Theomachia*, which he finished and transcribed in a Fortnights time, and dedicated the same to the Fellows, who were so highly pleased with his Ingenuity and Pains, that on *July* the 19th. 1619. he was admitted Fellow in that honourable Society according to the usual Form. *In*

verum & perpetuum Socium. After which followed a new honour upon him, as all Degrees in the University are honourable, and but the just reward of Learned Men; that in the year 1620, the University conferred on him the Degree of Master of Arts; and surely a young Master he was, that not one of twenty is capable of this Degree at his years, but more remarkable it was at that time, because he was one of those Masters that first sat with their Caps on, in the Convocation-house, by Order of the Earl of Pembroke then Chancellor of the University, who signified his Lordships Pleasure by his especial Letters: *That from that time forward, the Masters of Arts, who before sat bare, should wear their Caps in all Congregations and Convocations;* which has been ever since observed.

XVI.

He now a Master of Arts in the University, and Fellow of a Noble Colledge, than which no greater encouragements can be imagined for young Men, to follow their Studies, and put *audacity* into them, to shew their Parts, especially when they have gained by their Learning and Merits, both Preferment and

and Honour: He was perswaded by several Friends, to publish those *Geographical Lectures* which he read in the long *Vacation*, that others might taste the sweetnes and pleasure of those *Studies*, besides his own Fellow Collegians; Accordingly having got his Fathers consent for the printing of them, and the perusal and approbation of his Book by some Learned Men, at the Age of twenty and one years, the young Writer comes forth *November* the 7th. *Anno Dom.* 1621. Whose ingenious Writings found such general Acceptance, *manibus omnium teruntur*, that scarce any Scholars Study was without them; and to this day, since their enlargement by several Editions, are as commonly cited upon occasion, as any Authentick Author that's extant. The First Copy was presented to his Royal Highness King *Charles* the First, then Prince of *Wales*, unto whom the young Author dedicated his Work, and by the young Prince, was as graciously received, being brought into his Highness presence by Sir *Robert Carr*, afterward Earl of *Ancrem*, but then one of the Gentlemen of the Princes Bed-Chamber.

Ha-

XVII.

Having so fortunate a Beginning to gain the Prince his Patron; he delisted in *Geography*, and proceeded to higher Studies, that might capacitate him for greater Services hereafter, both in Church and State: In order thereto, first *piously* he took along with him the Episcopal *Blessing* of Confirmation, by the Hands of Bishop *Lake*, in the Parish Church of *Wells*, September the 15th. Anno Dom. 1623. the fruits of whose Fatherly Benediction, devout Prayers, with imposition of Hands, did manifestly appear in this true Son of the Church; *Whom the Almighty did bless, and daily increase in him the manifold gift of Grace, bestowed on him the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, &c.* And certainly such singular benefits does accompany this *Apostolical* Institution, mentioned in Scripture constantly used in the Primitive Church, that the neglect or contempt thereof from the hands of Gods Bishops, no doubt deprives us of many good Blessings which we should otherwise receive from the hands of God. Being thus confirmed by the Bishop, according to the Order of the Church of *England*; he afterward applied

plied himself to the Study of Divinity, which St. Basil calleth *θεωσια το υψος*, the Theory or Contemplation of the Great God, or his Being, so far as he hath revealed himself to us in the Book of Nature and Scripture. This Knowledge excelleth all other, and without it who knoweth not the saying, *Omnem Scientiam magis obesse quam prodesse, si desit scientia optimi*, that all other Knowledge does us more hurt than good; if this be wanting: Notwithstanding he met with some discouragements to take upon himself the Profession of a *Divine*, for what reasons it is hard for me to conjecture; but its certain at first he found some *reluctancy* within himself, whether for the difficulties that usually attend this deep mysterious Science, to natural reason incomprehensible, because containing many matters of *Faith*, which we ought to believe and not to question, though now Divinity is the common mystery of *Mechanicks*, to whom it seems more easie than their manual Trades and Occupations; or whether because it drew him off from his former delightful Studies, more probably (I believe) his fears and distrusts of himself

were

St. Basil.
Hexam.

were very great to engage in so high a Calling and Profession, and run the hazards of it, because the like Examples are very frequent, both in Antiquity and modern History; however so timorous he was upon this account, lest he should rush too suddenly into the Ministry, although his abilities at that time transcended many of elder years, that he exhibited a Certificate of his Age to the President of the Colledge, and thereby procured a *Dispensation*, notwithstanding any local Statutes to the contrary, that he might not be compelled to enter into holy Orders till he was twenty four years old; at which time still his fears did continue, or at least his modesty and self-denial wrought some unwillingness in him, till at last he was overcome by the Arguments and powerful Perswasions of his Learned Friend Mr. *Buckner*; after whose excellent Discourses with him, he followed his Studies in Divinity more closely than ever, having once tasted the sweetness of them; nothing can ravish the Soul more with pleasure unto an Extasie, than Divine Contemplation of God, and the Mysteries in his holy Word, which the Angels

Angels themselves pry into, and for which reason they love to be present in Christian Assemblies when the Gospel is preached, as the Apostle intimates to us: That by continual study and meditation, and giving himself wholly to read *Theological Books*, he found in himself an earnest desire to enter into the holy *Orders* of Deacon and Priest, which he had conferred upon him at distinct times in *St. Aldates Church at Oxon*, by the Reverend Father in God Bishop *Homson*: At the time when he was ordained Priest, he preached the Ordination Sermon upon the words of our Saviour to *St. Peter*, *Luke 22. 32.* *And when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.* An apposite Text upon so solemn Occasion. Being thus *ordained* to his great satisfaction and contentment; the *method* which he resolved to follow in the Course of his Studies was quite contrary to the common *Road* of young Students; for he did not spend his time in poring upon *Compendiums* and little *Systems* of Divinity, whereby many young Priests think they are made absolute Divines, when perhaps a Gentleman of the *Parish* doth oftentimes *gravel* them in an

or-

ordinary Argument; But he fell upon the main Body of Divinity, by studying Fathers, Councils, Ecclesiastical Histories, and School-men, the way which King *James* commended to all younger Students for confirming them in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, that is most agreeable to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church.

XVIII. By this time, his Book of *Geography* in the first Edition, bought up by Scholars, Gentlemen, and almost every Householder, for the pleasantness of its reading, was reprinted and enlarged in a second Edition, and presented again to his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, who not only graciously accepted the Book, but was pleased to pass a singular Commendation upon the Author; But afterward the Book being perused by his Royal Father King *James*, the second *Solomon* for Wisdom, and most Learned Monarch in *Christendom*, the Book put into his Majesties hand by Dr. *Young*, then Dean of *Winton*, and Mr. *Heylyn*'s dear Friend; the Kings piercing Judgment quickly spied out a fault, which was taken no notice of by others;

God

God always endows Kings his Vice-gerents with that extraordinary gift, (the Spirit of discerning) above other Mortals, *Sicut Angelus Dei est Dominus meus Rex*, (saith the holy Scripture) *as an Angel of God, so is my Lord the King*, who lighting upon a Line, that proved an unlucky Passage in the Author, who gave Precedency to the French King, and called *France* the more famous Kingdom; with which King *James* was so highly displeased, that he presently ordered the Lord Keeper to call the Book in, but this being said in his Anger and Passion, no further notice was taken of it: in the mean time Dr. Young took all care to send Mr. Heylyn word of his Majesties displeasure; the News of which was no small sorrow to him, that he was now in danger to lose the Kings Favour, *Nil nisi peccatum manifestaq; culpa scienda est. Penitet ingenij, judicii; mei* — that Mr. Heylyn could have wished them words had been left out: Dr. Young advised him to repair to Court, that by the young Prince's Patronage, he might pacifie the Kings Anger, but not knowing whether the Prince himself might not be also offended,

Ovid. l. 2.
Eleg. 1.

ded; he resided still in *Oxford*, and laid open his whole grief to the Lord *Danvers*, desiring his Lordships Counsel and best advice, what Remedy he should seek for Cure; according to the good Lord's Counsel, he sent up an Apology to *Dr. Young*, which was an Explanation of his meaning upon the words in question, and then under Condemnation: The Error was not to be imputed to the Author, but to the *Errata* of the Printer, which is most ordinary in them to mistake one word for another; and the grand mistake was, by printing *is* for *was* which put the whole Sentence out of joynt, and the Author into pain, if it had been of a higher Crime than of a Monosyllable, it had not been pardonable, for the intention of the Author was very innocent. — *Quis me deceptum error?*

Et culpam in facto, non scelus esse meo.

The words of his Apology which he sent up to *Dr. Young* for his Majesties satisfaction, are these that followeth.

‘That some Crimes are of a nature so unjustifiable, that they are improved by an Apology, yet considering the purpose he had in those places, which gave

gave offence to his sacred Majesty, he
he was unwilling that his Innocence
should be condemned for want of an
Advocate. The Burdens under which
he suffered, was a mistake rather than a
Crime; and that mistake not his own,
but the Printers: For if (in the first
Line of Page, 441.) *was* be read instead
of *is*, the Sense runs as he desired it:
And this appears from the words im-
mediately following, for by them may
be gathered the sense of this corrected
reading: *When Edward the third quar-
tered the Arms of France and England,
he gave precedence to the French. First,
because France was the great and more fa-
mous Kingdom. 2. That the French,
&c.* These reasons are to be referred
to the time of that King by whom the
Arms were first quartered with the
Arms of *England*, and who desired by
honour done unto their Arms; to gain
upon the good Opinion of that Na-
tion, for the Crown and Love thereof
he was then a Sutor: For at this time
(besides it may seem incongruous to use
a *Verb* of the *Present-Tense* in a matter
done so long agoe) that reason is not
of the least force or consequence; the
H French

' French King having so long since forgot
 ' the Rights of *England*, and our late
 ' Princes claiming nothing but the Title
 ' only. The Place and Passage so cor-
 ' rected, I hope I may without detracti-
 ' on from the Glory of this Nation assure,
 ' That *France* was at that time the more
 ' famous Kingdom, our English *Swords*,
 ' for more than half the time since the
 ' *Norman* Conquest, had been turned
 ' against our own Bosomes; and the
 ' Wars we then made; except some for-
 ' tunate Excursions of King *Edward* the
 ' First in *France*, and King *Richard* in
 ' the *Holy Land*, in my Opinion were,
 ' fuller of Piety than of Honour; For
 ' what was our Kingdom under the
 ' Reigns of *Edward* the Second, *Henry*
 ' the Third, *John*, *Stephen*, and *Rufus*,
 ' but a publick Theater, on which the
 ' Tragedies of Blood and civil Dissenti-
 ' ons had been continually acted: On
 ' the other side, the French had exercised
 ' their Arms with Credit and Renown,
 ' both in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, and
 ' had much added to the Glory of their
 ' Name and Nation, by conquering the
 ' Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and
 ' driving the English themselves out of
France,

France, Guyen only excepted. If we look higher, we shall find France to be the first Seat of the Western Empire, and the forces of it to be known and felt by the Saracens in Spain, the Saxons in Germany, and the Lombards in Italy: At which time the Valour of the English was imprisoned in the same Seas with their Island. And therefore France was at that time, when first the Arms were quartered, the more famous Kingdom. 'Tis true indeed, that since the time of those victorious Princes, those *duo fulmina belli*, Edward the Third and the Black Prince his Son, the Arms of England have been exercised in most parts of Europe: Nor am I ignorant how high we stand above France and all other Nations in true fame of our Atcheivements: France it self diverse times over run, and once conquered: The House of Burgundie upheld from Ruin: The Hollanders supported: Spain awed: The Ocean commanded, are sufficient Testimonies, that in pursuit of Fame and Honour, we had no Equals, That I always was of this opinion, my Book speaks for me, (and indeed so unworthy a Person needs no better

' Advocate) in which I have been no
 ' where wanting to commit to Memory
 ' the honourable performances of my
 ' Country. The great Annalist *Baroni-*
 ' *us* pretending only a true and sincere
 ' History of the Church, yet tells the
 ' Pope in his Epistle Dedicatory, that he
 ' principally did intend that Work, *Pro*
 ' *Sacrarum Traditionum Antiquitate & Au-*
 ' *thoritate Romanae Ecclesiae.* The like
 ' may I say of my self, though not with
 ' like imputation of imposture. I pro-
 ' mised a Description of all the World,
 ' and have according to the measure of
 ' my poor Ability, fully performed it;
 ' yet have I apprehended withal, every
 ' modest occasion of enobling and ex-
 ' tolling the Souldiers and Kings of
 ' *England.* Concerning the other place
 ' at which his most sacred Majesty is of-
 ' fended, *viz.* The precedency of *France*
 ' before *England*; besides that I do not
 ' speak of *England* as it now stands
 ' augmented by the happy Addition of
 ' *Scotland*, I had it from an Author,
 ' whom in my poverty of reading I con-
 ' ceived above all Exception, *Cambden*
 ' *Clarencieux*, that general and accomplish'd
 ' Scholar, in the fifth page of his Re-
 ' mains

'Remains had so informed me ; If there
'be Error in it, 'tis not mine but my Au-
'thors. The Precedency which he
'there speaks of, is in general Councils.
'And I do heartily wish it would please
'the Lord to give such a sudden blessing
'to his Church, that I might live to see
'Mr. *Cambden* confuted by so good an
'Argument as the sitting of a general
'Council.

Thus Mr. *Heylyn* apologized for him-
self, in his Letter written to the Dean
of *Winton*, who shewed the whole A-
pology to the King, with which his
Majesty was fully satisfied as to the sin-
cere intention and innocent meaning of
Author ; yet to avoid all further *scruples*
and misconstructions that might arise here-
after, Mr. *Heylyn*, by the advise of his
good Friend, the wise and most wor-
thy Dean, took order that whole
Clause which gave so much offence,
should be left out of all his Books, *Ita*
pluriq; ingenio sumus omnes, nostri nosmet
penitet, as once the *Comedian* said.

Having undergone such troubles about
France, he was resolved upon a further
Adventure, to take a Voyage thither,
with his faithful Friend Mr. *Leuet* of

Lincolns Inn, who afterward, poor Gentleman, through misfortune of the Times, lived and dyed Prisoner in the *Fleet*. They both set out *An. Dom.* 1625. and after their safe arrival in *France*, took a singular interveiw of the chief Cities and most eminent Places in the Realm, of which Mr. *Heylyn* gives a more accurate account, and description (though his stay was not there above five Weeks) than *Lassel* the Priest doth of his five years Voyage into *Italy*. And now Mr. *Heylyn* was sufficiently convinced with his own Eyes which was the more famous Kingdom, that after his return home, he composed a History of his Travels into *France*, and being put into the Hands of several Friends, was at first printed by a false Copy, full of gross Errors and insufferable mistakes, that he caused his own true Copy to be printed, one of the most delightful Histories of that nature that hath been ever heretofore published; wherein is set out to the Life, the *Monsieurs* and the *Madams*, the *Nobility* and the *Peasantry*, the *Court* and *Country*; their ridiculous Customs, fantastical Gate, Apparell and Fashions, foolish common Talk, so given

given to levity, that without singing and dancing they cannot walk the open Streets; in the Church serious and superstitious, the better sort horridly Atheistical.

Besides all he hath written in that ingenious Book, I think he hath in short most excellently deciphered them in his *Cosmography*, where he maketh a second review of their pretty Qualities and Conditions; as thus, if the Reader has a mind to read them. *They are very quick witted, of a sudden and nimble apprehension, but withal rash and hair-brain'd, precipitate in all their actions, as well military as civil, falling on like a clap of Thunder, and presently going off in Smoke, full of Law-suits and Contentions, that their Lawyers never want work; so litigious, that there are more Law-suits tryed among them in seven years, than have been in England from the Conquest: Their Women witty, but Apish, sluttish, wanton, and incontinent; generally at the first sight as familiar with you, as if they had known you from the Cradle, and are so full of Chat and Tattle, even with those they know not, as if they were resolved sooner to want Breath than Words, and never to be silent*

Cosmog. fol.
176, 177.
printed A.
D. 1655.

till in the Grave: Dancing such a sport to which both Men and Women are so generally affected, that neither Age nor Sickness, no nor Poverty it self, can make them keep their Heels still when they hear the Musick, such as can hardly walk abroad without Crutches, or go as if they were troubled all day with a Sciatica, and perchance have their Raggs hang so loose about them, that one would think a swift Galliard might shake them into their Nakedness, will to the dancing Green howsoever, and be there as eager at the sport, as if they had left their several infirmities and wants behind them: Their Language is very much expressed by their Action, for the Head and Shoulders must move as significantly when they speak, as their Lips and Tongue, and he that hopeth to speak with a grace, must have in him somewhat of the Mimick: They are naturally disposed for Courtship, as makes all the People complemental, that the poorest Cocker in the Parish hath his Court cringes, and his Eau beniste de Cour, his Court-holy water (as they call it) as perfectly as the best Gentleman-Huisber of Paris. They wear their Hair long, goes thin and open to the very Shirt, as if there were continual Summer; in their
Gate

Gate, walk fast, as if pursued on an Arrest. Their humour is much of scoffing, yea even in matters of Religion as appeareth in the story of a Gentleman that lay sick on his Bed, who seeing the Host brought unto him by a Lubberly Priest, said that Christ came to him, as he entred into Jerusalem, Riding upon an Ass. I cannot forget another of the like kind, a Gentleman lying sick upon his Death Bed, who when the Priest had perswaded him, that the Sacrament of the Altar, was the very Body and Blood of Christ, refused to eat thereof, because it was Friday. And so far the good Geographer, who hath pleasantly and truly described them.

But now we must come to him as a Divine, wherein he acted his part as well as of a *Cosmographer*, when he was called unto the Divinity School to dispute in his turn, according to the Statutes of the *University*, on April 18th. A. D. 1627. He comes up as opponent, and on Tuesday the 24th. following he answered *pro forma*, upon these two Questions.

XXI.

An

*An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?
An Ecclesia possit errare?*

Both which he determined in the Negative. Upon occasional discourse with him at *Abington*, he was pleased once to shew me his supposition which I read over in his House at *Lacyes Court*; but I had not then either the leisure or good luck to *Transcribe* a Copy of it, which would have been worth my pains, and more worthy of the *Press*, to the great satisfaction of others; for my part, I can truly say, that I never read any thing with more pleasure, and heart delight, for good *Latin*, *Reason*, and *History*, which that exercise was full of; but since both it, and many other choice Papers in his Study, through the carelessness of those, to whose Custody they were committed, I suppose, are utterly lost and gone, *ad blattarum & tinearum epulas*.

XXII.

Appendix
to the Ad-
vice on Mr.
Sa. Hist.

In stating of the first Question that caused the heats of that day, he tells us himself; 'I fell upon a different way from that of Doctor *Prideaux*, the Professor, in his Lecture *De Visibilitate Ecclesiae*,

‘*Ecclesiae*, and other *Tractates* of and a-
‘bout that time, in which the Visibility
‘of the Protestant Church (and con-
‘sequently of the Renowned Church of
‘*England*) was no otherwise proved,
‘than by looking for it in the scattered
‘Conventicles of the *Berengarians* in
‘*Italy*, the *Waldenses* in *France*, the
‘*Wickliffs*, in *England*, and the
‘*Hussites* in *Bohemia*, which manner
‘of proceeding not being liked by the
‘*Respondent*, as that which utterly dis-
‘continued that Succession of the Hie-
‘archy which the Church of *England*
‘claims from the very Apostles and
‘their immediate Successors: He rather
‘chose to find out a continual visible
‘Church in *Asia*, *Ethiopia*, *Greece*, *Italy*,
‘yea *Rome* it self, as also in all the
‘Western Provinces than subject to the
‘power of the *Roman* Bishop, when he
‘was the Chief Patriarch. Which Mr.
‘*Heylyn* from his great knowledge, and
‘more than ordinary abilities in History,
‘strenuously asserted and proved, to which
‘the Professor could make but weak
‘replies (as I have heard from some
‘knowing persons who were present at
‘that Disputation) because he was drawn
‘out

out of his ordinary byass from *Scholastical* disputation to *Forreign Histories*, in which encounter, Mr. Heylyn was the invincible *Ajax* — *Nec quisquam Ajacem superare possit nisi Ajax*. But chiefly the quarrel did arise for two words in Mr. Heylyn's *Hypothesis*, after he had proved the Church of *England* received no Succession of Doctrine or Government from the *Berengarians*, *Wickliffs*, &c. Who held many *Heterodoxes* in Religion, as different from the established Doctrine of our Church, as any points that was maintained at that time in the Church of *Rome*; that the writers of that Church, *Bellarmino* himself, hath stood up, as cordially in maintainance of some fundamental points of the Christian Faith against *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Heretics* of these last ages, as any one Divine, and other learned Men of the Protestant Churches, which point Mr. Heylyn closed up with these words. *Vtinam quod ipse de Calvino sic semper errasset nobilissimus Cardinalis*. At which words the Reverend Doctor was so impatient in his Chair, that he fell upon the Respondent in most vile terms, calling

calling him *Papicola Bellarminianus*, *Pontificius*, &c. To draw the hatred of the University upon him, according to the saying, *Fortiter calumniare & aliquid adhærebit*, grievously complaining to the younger sort of his Auditors, unto whom he made his chiefest addressees, of the unprofitable pains he took among them, if *Bellarmino*, whom he had laboured to confute for so many years should be honoured with the Title of *Nobilissimus*.

Notwithstanding the Respondent ac-XXIII, quitted himself most bravely before all the Company, ascribing no more honour to *Bellarmino*, then for his deserts in learning, and integrity in that particular point before spoken of, which any generous Man would give to his Learned *Antagonist*. For many *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, I may say (*pæc tanti viri*) so angry at a word, have not grudged, much less judged it any Crime to praise the Cardinals Learning. *Doctrinam & nos in ipso Commendamus* Joh. And. Quensted. in dial. de pat. Illust. vir. faith a rigid *Lutheran*, and *St. Paul* himself would not stick to call him who was an inveterate Enemy of the Christians, most noble *Festus*. And though Car-

Cardinals we know were originally but Parish Priests, by Pride and Usurpation have made themselves Compeers to Kings; that which is unjustly once obtained, by *time* groweth common and familiar, that none will refuse to give such their ordinary Titles of Honour, although they come by indirect means, and not by merit to them. *Bellarmino* also was of no poor and base extraction, but better than his Fellows; for which reason he was created Cardinal by *Clement* the Eighth. *Hunc eligimus* (saith he) *quia est nepos optimi & sanctissimi Pontificis*, because he was the Nephew of *Marcellus* the Second, who said, that he could not see how any could be saved who sat in the Pontifical Chair: *Nam video quomodo qui locum hunc altissimum tenent salvari possunt.*

Quensted.
pag. 327.

Onuph. in
vit. Marc.

XXIV. After those heats of disputation were over, Mr. *Heylyn* took a Journey to *London*, where he waited on Bishop *Laud*, then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who had heard of all the passages that had hapned at *Oxford*, of which Mr. *Heylyn* gave a more perfect account to his Lordship, who was pleased to read over the *Supposition*, at which Dr. *Prideaux*

deaux was so highly offended; but the good Bishop on the other side commended it, and encouraged Mr. *Heylyn* in his Studies; saying that he himself had in his younger dayes, maintained the same Positions in a disputation, in St. *Johns* Colledge, that Mr. *Heylyn*s *Hypothesis* could not be overthrown in a fair way, exhorting him to continue in that moderate course: And that as God had given him more than ordinary gifts so he would pray to God, that he and others might employ them in such a way and manner as might make up the breaches in the Walls of Christendom. Mr. *Heylyn* to clear himself from the suspicion of *Popery*, which Dr. *Prideaux* had most unjustly branded him with, in *November* next following, Preached before the King, on those words, *Joh. 4. ver. 20. Our Fathers Worshipped on this Mountain*, &c. In which Sermon he declared himself with such smart zeal, and with as quick Judgment against several errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, that his Sermon was otherwise resented by the King and Court, then his supposition by the Kings Professor at *Oxon*.

A. B. Lauds.
Life page
166.

And

And when that clamour was revived again by his Enemies, that he had some inclinations to the *Romish* Religion, he gave such satisfaction in his third and fourth Sermon Preached at *White-Hall*, in the year 1638. Upon the Parable of the Tares, on these words, *Matth. 13. vers. 26. Tunc apparuerunt Zizania.* Then appeared the Tares also, that some of the Court did not stick to say that he had done more towards the Subversion of *Popery* in those two Sermons, than Dr. *Prideaux* had done in all the Sermons which he had ever Preached in his Life. For that Doctor was a better disputant than a Preacher, and to give him his due, a right Learned Man in his place of *Regius Professor*, yet withal so *Dogmatical* in his own points, that he would not abide to be touched, much less contradicted by Mr. *Heylyn* --- *Non aliam ob causam, nisi quod Virtus in utroque, summa fuit* ----- More especially being a Great Man, at that time very popular in the University, profoundly admired by the *Junior Masters*, and some of the *Seniors* inclined to *Puritanism*, his own Colledge then observed to be (*Communis pestis Adolescentum*) the Common Nursery

Nursery of West Country Men in Puritan principles, so that Mr. Heylyn could expect no favour nor fair dealing in the way of his disputation, when it ran contrary to the Professors humor.

XXV.

After these Academical contests, growing weary of *Obs* and *Sols* in Scholastical disputations, which was ever opposite to his Genius, and for this purpose being unwilling to be alwaies Cloystred up within the Walls of a Colledge, where he must be tied to such *Exercises*; besides a Man of an *Aiery* and active Spirit, (though studious and contemplative,) would not be perpetually devoted to a Melancholly reclude Life; also emulation and envy, the two inseparable evils that accompany Learned Men in the same Society, hath frequently stirred up animosities and factions among them. That I have known some ingenious persons, for this reason, have been wearied out of a Collegiat Life; resolved therefore he was to Marry, and alter the condition of his Life, which he thought would prove more agreeable to the content and satisfaction of his mind. *Neque aliud probis quam*

Tacit. Hist.
lib. 4.

ex Matrimonio solatium esse, saith the good Author, because Marriage is the only comfort of minds honestly given; accordingly a fair Fortune was offered to him, a Wife with a thousand pounds Portion, and a Gentlewoman of a very Ancient Family, and of as excellent Education, Mrs. *Letitia High-Gate*, third Daughter of *Thomas High-Gate of Heyes Esq;* one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the County of *Middlesex*, (who in his younger dayes, whilst his Elder Brother was alive, had been Provost Marshal General of the Army under the Earl of *Essex* at the action of *Cales*) and of *Margery Skipwith* his Wife, one of the Daughters of that Ancient Family of the *Skipwiths* in the County of *Leicester*, of which Family still there is a Worthy person living, Sir *Thomas Skipwith* Knight, a Learned Serjeant in the Law: Which said *Thomas High-Gate* the Father beforementioned, was second Son of that *Thomas High-Gate*, who was field Marshal General of the *English* Forces, before *St. Quintine* under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, Anno Dom. 1557. And of *Elizabeth Stoner* his Wife a Daughter of the
Anci-

ancient Family of the *Stoners* in the County of *Oxon*.

To this young *Gentlewoman*, Mrs. *Letitia High-gate* aforesaid, Mr. *Heylyn* was no stranger, for his Elder Brother Mr. *Edward Heylyn* had married some years before her eldest Sister. His Seat was at *Minster-Lovel* in *Oxfordshire*, where his Son (to whom Dr. *Heylyn* was Uncle) now liveth, viz. *Hen. Heylyn Esq;* an ancient Colonel, and an excellent Commander in the Army of King *Charles* the First, and a most accomplished Gentleman in all respects to the honour of his Family. Another of the Sisters of Mrs. *Letitia High-gate*, married *Robert Tirwhit Esq;* one of the ancient Family of the *Tirwhits* in the County of *Lincoln*, Master of the Buck-hounds in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, a Place of honour and of great Revenue: Finally to the honour of that Family Sir *Henry Bard* of *Stanes* Knight, who afterward was created Viscount Lord *Bellamount*, did marry the Daughter of Sir *William Gardiner*, whose Lady and Mrs. *Letitia High-gate* were Sisters Children, that unfortunate Lord, (who is mentioned

in the Marquesse of *Worcesters* Apothegmes) for a brave Commander and Governour of *Camden* House in the time of War, did attend his sacred Majesty all the time of his Exile until the Treaty at *Breda*, when he was sent (as I have heard) on some *Ambassage* into the Eastern Countries, where travelling in *Arabia deserta*, for want of a skilful Guide, was swallowed up in the *Gulf* of Sands. These were the Relations, and many others of Quality (which I forbear to mention) of Mrs. *Letitia Highgate*. And whereas the late Writer disparages the young Gentlewoman, that her Portion was never paid ; I am sure he has done her that Wrong which he can never recompence, for her Elder Brother did both pay her and the other Sisters Portions, who were all married to Persons of Quality ; - himself had an Estate left him by his Father to the value of 800*l. per Annum*. he married an Heiress, whose fortune added to his Estate, on which they lived nobly for many years, before he fell into losses and misfortunes, caused by his own extravagant Pleasures, and chiefly of Gaming at Dice and Cards. *Quem dam-rosa*

noſa Venus, quem Præceps alea nudat. To the ſaid Letitia High-gate, Mr. Heylyn was an earneſt Sutor, For indeed he could not make a better Choice, for the excellency of her Perſon, Wit and Friends, all concentring together for his more happy Contentment, ſhe being alſo a diſcreet, Religious young Lady, which is a Bleſſing to a Clergy-man: his Courtſhip of her was not after a Romantick manner, nor as a Gallant of the times, but like a Scholar and a Divine, as appears by a Copy of Verſes, written upon a rich gilded Bible, which he preſented to her; and the Verſes are as followeth.

*Could this outside beholden be
To coſt and cunning equally;
Or were it ſuch as might ſuffice
The Luxury of curious Eyes;
Yet would I have my Deareſt look,
Not on the Cover, but the Book.*

*If thou art merry, here are Aires;
If melancholly, here are Prayers;
If ſtudioſus, here are thoſe things writ,
Which may deſerve thy ableſt Wit;
If hungry, here is Food Divine;*

The Life of
If thirsty, Nectar, heavenly Wine.

*Read then, but first thy self prepare
 To read with zeal, and mark with care,
 And when thou read'st What here is writ;
 Let thy best Practice second it :
 So twice each Precept read shall be.
 First in the Book, and next in thee.*

*Much reading may thy Spirits wrong ;
 Refresh them therefore with a Song ;
 And that thy Musick Praise may merit,
 Sing David's Psalms with David's
 Spirit :
 That as thy Voice do pierce Mens Ears,
 So shall thy Prayer and Vows the
 Sphaers.*

*Thus read, thus sing, and then to thee
 The very Earth a Heaven shall be :
 If thus thou readest, thou shalt find,
 A private Heaven within thy mind ;
 And singing thus before thou dye,
 Thou sing'st thy Part to those on High.*

XXVII. The Verses with the Bible were most affectionately received by her, as the best Tokens of Love that could be given, to lay the Foundation of a future

ture Happiness betwixt them, that was now begun so *Religiously* with the Book of God, which they both intended to make the Rule of their Life and Love. Soon after the Solemnization of Marriage followed, by the consent of Friends on both Parties; in the presence of whom and other Witnesses, they were married by Dr. *Allibone* his faithful Friend, upon the Festival day of St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*, in *Magdalen* Colledge Chappel, where he was Fellow, but now the Husband of a good Wife; of whom we may say as the Poet,

— Felices

Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis

Divulsis querimoniis

Suprema citius solvet die.

Most happy is the Marriage-tye,

Where Love abideth constantly;

No sad Complaints or Gyes, whilst

¶ Breath

Remains, but true Love unto Death.

At his Marriage with this virtuous XXVIII
Gentlewoman, he had a good Estate of
his own besides her Portion to begin

the World with; for he had a *Rent Charge* of Inheritance paid him out of the Manor of *Lech-led* in the County of *Glocester*, and the *Advousan* of *Bradwel* living near *Lech-led*, both which were left him by his Father; as a *Competent* Portion for a younger Brother; but he wisely parted with the *Advousan*, resolving not to bury his Parts in a Country Parish; where if he had been once settled, possibly his *Fortune* might have proved like other Mens, never to have been *Master* of more Lands or Goods than the Tythe or Glebe of his own Parsonage: Therefore he took the first opportunity offered to him, as a more probable means of his future *preferment*; and that was to attend the right Honourable the Earl of *Danby*, to the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*: (of which afterward he writ a Description) And for this good Service he so much endear'd himself to his Lordship, who took great notice of his extraordinary merits, that at their return back, the Noble Lord commended him, not only to some Lords in Court, but presented him to Arch-Bishop *Land*, then Bishop of *London*, who had cast a singular Eye of favour upon

upon him before, but now reminded by the Earl, he presently got him admitted Chaplain to the King, knowing that *step*. to *Preferment* would carry him on *further*, because the rise of the Clergy is either from the *Press* or the *Pulpit*, in both which Mr. *Heylyn* was exercised. The good Bishop instructed him with *Counsel* and wise *Cautions*, how to behave himself in all Circumstances suitable to the Calling and Dignity of his Place; telling him amongst other things, *That the King did not love Silk nor Sattin Chaplains*; which Mr. *Heylyn* ever observed both young and old, never rustling in Silks like some of his *Brotherhood*: but went alway in a plain, grave, and *decent* habit.

In humble gratitude to the Earl his original Patron, who first recommended him to the Bishop, and afterward brought him to the honour of *acquaintance* with Noble-men, among whom he found such a general love and respect, that their Lordships would often call him to a familiar Conversation with them; by which means Mr. *Heylyn* acquired more than an ordinary Interest in Court: He could not study out

XXIX.

out a more ingenious way to please and oblige all their Lordships, than the Vindication of the most noble Order of the Garter, and that by writing his History of the famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus St. George of Cappadocia; which Work he performed so admirably well, for History, Learning and Language; all these not vulgar, but *incomparable* in their kind, that I would fain see the Fellow that can second it; especially considering that never any one before Mr. Heylyn durst attempt the *work*, by reason of the many *difficulties* occurring in Story. But what could resist the Authors Ingenuity and Industry, who had *importunum Ingenium*, a restless working Head, and a Mind indefatigable for Study. *Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor* — Hor. So various and perplexed are the infinite *stories* that go of this Saint, that one would think it were an impossible thing to find out the Truth. Great care was taken by *Anterus* Bishop of Rome *An. Dom.* 238. (who was a Martyr himself) to preserve the Memory of the Christian *Martyrs*, by causing all their Acts and *Passions* to be written by publick Notaries, and
after-

afterwards laid up in the Register of the Church, as *Platina* tells us; and we find in *Gregories* Epistles, that in the Ancient Martyrologies the time of their death, and place where they suffered is described, but not the circumstance and manner of their deaths, whereby hath risen so many *Fables*, and incredible stories, especially of *St. George* which the *Monks* of old hath filled their Legends with: And on the other side, some because they would be contradictory to them, do run into another Extreme of things, not regarding whether they are true or false, they stigmatize *St. George* with all the reproaches imaginable, making him not a *Saint* but a *Devil*, at the best the bloody *George* of *Alexandria*, who was a Butcher rather than a Bishop, that caused the slaughter of so many poor Christians for being Orthodox and not *Arrians*, more kind and favourable are they, that condemn him for a fiction a mere Chimera, and *Non Entity*, and will allow him no place (as the *Historian* saith) on Earth, in beaven, nor tell it self.

From all which slanderous Accusations of the one side, and from the Popish

Anterus
Statuit pri-
mus ut om-
nes res
gestæ Mar-
tyrum a no-
tariis scri-
berentur,
conscriptas
recondi, in
arario Ec-
clesiæ
mandavit
Platin. tæ
vit. An.
Greg. l. 7.
29.

Dr. Heylyn
Epist. before
his History.

XXX.

pish Superstitions and Forgeries of the other ; Mr. Heylyn hath redeemed, St. Georges Honour and Reputation proving by undeniable Authorities, that St. George was a blessed and glorious Martyr for Christ, so believed and owned in all Christian Nations, a Canoniz'd Saint through Christendom, the Patron both of our *English* Nation anciently deemed, and of the most Honourable Order of Knighthood in the World. The History was at first presented to his Majesty by the Author, and afterwards to the Knights of the Noble Order, by his Majesty it was most graciously accepted, and by the Nobility highly praised. Notwithstanding Dr. Hackwel, the intimate friend of Dr. Prideaux for whose sake to revenge the old quarrel, appeared against the Author, and treated him neither with that ingenuity which became a Scholar, nor that Charity, as becomes a Christian. The King hearing of Dr. Hackwels sharp reply to this History of St. George, sent for Mr Heylyn, Commanding him to consider the Arguments of his Adversary, and for this purpose to go to Windsor, and there search into the Records of the Order

Append. to
the Histo.
of K. Ch.

Order. But there was little need for that, because all Dr. Hackwels Arguments and Accusations were *Idem per Idem*, the very same repeated over, which Mr. *Pryn* had before laid down in his Book called *Histrionastix*, which occasioned a second Edition of Mr. Heylyn's History, wherein he answered the Arguments of both his Antagonists, who never troubled him more upon that point, and Dr. Hackwell for his part, in the next Edition of his book about the decay of Nature made an ingenious retraction of the passages relating to St. George. Which blessed Saint and Martyr, Mr. Heylyn the more zealously defended with his pen, not only for the reasons before mentioned, but from a particular obligation, wherewith he thought himself bound above others to prosecute the History. Because several Churches being Dedicated to the Honour of God by St. Georges Name, particularly St. Georges Church at *Burford*, where it pleased God (saith he) 'to give me first my natural being and 'and afterward my Education, in which 'regard I hold my self bound in a manner to vindicate St. George his Honour

Hist. of St.
George cap.
8. par. 2.

our, where his memory was anciently precious, and the only Church in it Dedicated by his Name. Finally the memory of this Saint shines in our Calender, prefixed before the publick Liturgy of the Church of England, where he is specially honoured with the name of Saint, as is not any of the rest excepting those which saw our Saviour in the Flesh.

Angl. No.
tit. cap. 19.

Let me finally add what the Author of the *Present State of England*, in Honour of St. George hath written, *The greatest Monarchs (saith he) of Christendom, have been enrolled, and have taken it for an honour to be of this Order: a Saint so universally Received in all parts of Christendom, so generally attested by the Ecclesiastical Writers of all Ages from the time of his Martyrdom to this day, that no one Saint in all the Calendar (except those attested by Scripture) is better vindicated.*

XXXI.

The publishing of this History met with that general good entertainment for the rarity of its subject; that a Gentleman of quality one Mr. Bridges, out of a real respect and Love to the Authors Learning, presented him to the
Parson-

Parsonage of *Meysie Hampton* in *Glocester-shire*, to which if things had happened successfully, Mr. *Heylyn* had then been Successor to the Reverend *Sebastine*, D. D. Rector, of that Living, and *Margaret* Professor in the University of *Oxon*. But contrary to his Patrons and his own expectation it proved a Living of most litigious Title, from whence followed a chargeable suit in Law, occasioned by Bishop *Goodman*, the worst of all his Predecessors, that sat in the Sea of *Glocester*, who outwardly pretended great kindness to Mr. *Heylyn*, for his Learning sake, but like the *Fox* in the Fable, (when he praised the *Crows* singing,) to get the meat out of his mouth, for after he had perswaded Mr. *Heylyn* to leave his presentation in his hands, and enter a Caveat in his Court, and promising, that he would grant no *Institution* to any person till the Title was cleared, his Lordship immediatly after gave *Institution* to another, (who was his friend) one Mr. *Jackson*, who was presented by *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Oxon*, that pretended the right of Patronage and presentation to that Parsonage. And no wonder Mr. *Heylyn* found

found such base dealing, when this Spiritual Father so prevaricated with his Mother the Church of *England*, from which he Apostatized most shamefully. No doubt he was a Jesuite in *voto*, or had a Pope in his Belly before he crept into the Bishoprick, His Lordships Hypocrisie was detected in a Sermon afterwards Preached, for which he was not only questioned, but sentenc'd to a Recantation before the King. But much more scandal he gave at the time of his Death, a scandal so unseasonably and untimely (saith Dr. Heylyn) as if the Devil himself had watched an opportunity to despight this Church. Because some have gladly cherished this occasion to draw the rest of our Prelates into a General suspicion, yet Christian Charity should instruct them not to think evil of all for the fault of one, or prejudice any one Man much less the whole Body of the Clergy for the fault of another. It rather should be wondered at by all moderate and discreet Men, that notwithstanding so many provocations of want and scorn, which have of late been put upon them, there should be found but one

Observator
rescued
p. 222.

'one of that sacred order to fall off to
 'Popery, though to say truth, it was
 'not in this Bishop a late falling off,
 'but a pursuance rather of some further
 'inclinations, which he had that way,
 'that being thought to be the reasons
 'why he refused Subscription to the
 'Canons in Convocation.

Seldom misfortunes go alone, but one XXXII.
 of them is a *Prologue* to another; though
 in conclusion of all, the *Scene* may end
 with a pleasant *Epilogue*: And so it
 fared with Mr. *Heylyn*, who met with
 a second disappointment by the hand of
 Fortune, he being yet neither *Parson*,
Vicar, nor *Curate*, but one of his Ma-
 jesties Chaplains in ordinary; he was
 now presented to another Living, of
 which he missed his aim, but thereby
 was fortunate in his very *misfortune*.
 For having attended the King, and
 preaching in his court at *White-hall*,
 his Majesty was so well pleased with his
 Sermon, that within a few days after
 Mr. *Heylyn* was presented by the King
 to the Rectory of *Hemingford* in the
 County of *Huntingdon*: Soon after he
 applied himself to the Bishop of *Lin-*
coln for Institution, which was not on-

ly denied him, but the Bishop, more boldly than did besit his Lordship, disputed his own Title against his Sovereign, and fell upon Mr. Heylyn with most foul opprobrious Language, because he presumed to defend the Kings right against his Lordship, which he proved by the Instruments of Conveyance made from the other Party; at which the Bishop was the more highly offended with him, that such a young Divine should have so great knowledge of the Law, and especially to argue the *Case* with his Lordship: But this was not the main business, *Latet Anguis in herba*, there was a Snake in the Garden; for his Lordship had a subtile *design* under disguise, or otherwise he would have easily waved his right of presentation, *pro hac vice*, to pleasure the King in the preferment of his Chaplain, or at least preserving his own right, bestowed the Living upon Mr. Heylyn; But then here lyeth the matter, his Lordship had been crossed in his wonted method, that is, to give with one hand and take away with the other, which he could not for shame do with a Kings Chaplain; For when he
be-

bestowed a Living upon any Person, as he had many in his Gift, being both Lord Bishop and Lord Keeper, he would tye the Incumbent to pay an annual pension out of it, to be disposed to such charitable and pious uses as he thought fit; so that the stream of his Charity flowed out of other mens Purses, and not his own; at the best he robbed *Peter*. to pay *Paul*, which the Incumbents felt by dear Experience, whom he kept at a low *pittance*, that for the most part they lived but poorly, for the *heavy* Taxations laid upon them. By this means he had more *Pensioners*, than all the Noble men and Bishops in the Land together: And though he made no particular benefit to himself out of those Livings, then his Name cryed up for a noble Benefactor, in all other things to fill his own Coffer, he was so covetous and *extremely tenacious*, that he would never let go what once he had laid hold on; for at the same time, he was both Bishop, Dean, Lord Keeper, Parson of *Walgrove*, and held the poor Prebendary of *Asgarby*, in which last I have the honour to succeed his Lordship.

XXXIII

The King hearing the News of Mr. Heylyn's rough Entertainment at *Bugden*, how his Royal Presentation was slighted, and his Chaplain with ill words abused; was not a little offended with the Bishop, on whom he had heaped so many *Dignities* one upon another both in Church and State, I will not say undeservedly, if his Lordships Loyalty and Integrity had been answerable to his other great Abilities. But his Majesty was pleased for the comfort of his poor Chaplain so disappointed and badly treated by the Bishop, to send him this gracious Message by the Attorney general Mr. Noy: (not usual with Kings to private Persons) *That he was sorry he had put him to so much charge and trouble at Bugden; but it should not be long before he would be out of his Debt:* Nor long it was, for within a Week after a Prebendship in the *collegiate Church of Westminster* (where the Bishop of *Lincoln* was Dean) fell void, by the Death of Mr. *Darrel*, which the King bestowed upon Mr. Heylyn, and with it sent a most gracious message by Mr. Noy again: *That he bestowed that Prebendary on him to bear the charges of his*
last

last Journey, but he was still in his Debt for the Living.

So that he is now entred into one of XXXIV.
the fairest Preferments that hath all the
accommodations and pleasures, which a
Scholars heart can wish; a *learned* So-
ciety; a well furnished *Library*; a
magnificent *Church*, that hath an excel-
lent Quire in it for a *Chorus* of heav-
enly Voices; the one enough to stir up
the coldest heart to Devotion, and the
other to the veneration of Antiquity,
where so many ancient Monuments of
Kings and Queens in *Henry 7.* Chappel
have their Sepulture: The most accurate
pile of building in *Europe*, by some cal-
led the *wonder* of the World; near
which the Courts of *Judicature*, the
High Court of Parliament, and not far
from thence, his Majesty's Pallace-royal
at *White-hall*; that if one would converse
with all sorts of famous Men, Divines,
Lawyers, States-men, and other Per-
sons of *Quality*, he could not find out a
Place more sutable to the hearts desire;
besides situated healthfully upon a firm
gravelly Foundation, and pleasantly on
the River *Thames*, about whose Banks
may be seen along that River for many
K 3 Miles,

Miles, most princely Buildings, stately
Palaces, fair Towers and Fields, as an
old German Poet describeth, whose Ver-
ses are thus translated by the Doctor
himself in his *Cosmography*.

Cosmog. fol. 295. *Tot campos, silvas, tot regia tecla, tot hortos
Artifici excultos dextra, tot vidimus arces
Ut nunc Ansonio Thamesis cum Tibride certet.*

He saw so many Woods, and princely
(Bowers
Sweet Fields, brave Palaces, and state-
(ly Towers :
So many Gardens dress'd with curious
(Art,
That *Thames* with *Tyber*, strives to
(bear a Part.

XXXV.

Therefore Mr. *Heylyn* was happily
disappointed of his former Expectations,
(as Providence ordained) to embrace
a more noble Preferment; that he
might say now rejoicingly as *Charea* did,
*Ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior? cui
tam subito tot congruerint commoda?* Or
rather in the Scripture words, *The
lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places,
yea, I have a goodly Heritage.* for certain-
ly

ly he could not be seated in a better manner, all those delightful conveniences considered; and yet to add more pleasure to them, he spared no cost to beautifie and enlarge his Prebends house, in the mean time his Wife lived in the Country with his Brother Mr. *Edward Heylyn* at *Minster Lovel* in *Oxfordshire*, and sometimes with his Uncle *Raynton* at *Shilton* in *Barkshire*, a man of a good Estate, who was afterward High Sheriff of the same County.

So soon as he was settled in his Prebends house, several of his Friends about Town came to visit him, and give him joy. Amongst others of most noble Acquaintance, that he had gained by his frequent attendances in *White-hall*, the right Honourable Lord *Falkland* was pleased first to honour him with a Visit, and brought along with him a *Miles gloriosus*, one Mr. *Nelson*, an old Sea-Captain, with whom his Lordship seemed to be mightily delighted, for his new way of Discovery to find out the Longitude of the Sea, with which the Captain had troubled all the *Mathematicians* about Town, who generally dissented from his Opinion, that at last

by his Majesties Order the *decision* of this Sea-question was referred to Mr. Heylyn, as a Person thought fit to determine it; but he could neither satisfy the Captain, nor the Lord with any further answer at present, than *That his Majesty was mistaken in him, for his skill and knowledge did lye more in the historical than philosophical part of Geography*: At which the Lord Falkland seemed to be much displeased, thinking that he had spoken thus, either out of slight to his old Captain, or through some averfness in himself to be engaged in the business; but Mr. Heylyn quickly satisfied his Lordship to the contrary, that he intended to use all possible means by his own study, and consult with others more learned than himself in this point, *non conamur tenues grandia* and afterward give the King and his Lordship a full account of the whole matter.

xxxvii. Several Letters passed betwixt his Lordship and Mr. Heylyn, but in one particularly, his Lordship commended 'the honest old Captain to his judicious
'care and consideration, telling him
'that in the credibility of that *phenome-*
'*non* his Majesties resolution would be
'much

'much guided by his judgment ; which he
'found would be of special Authority
'with him ; that he press'd the point oft-
'ner to him, because he conceived it a Du-
'ty which he owed to the Truth it self, to
'have it made manifest one way or other,
'that is either to be freed from the Cap-
'tains imposition and pretence, if upon
'Tryal it appeared to be fallacious , or
'else to be approved and declared for
'right and perfect, (if such it be) to
'the silencing perpetually of all malici-
'ous Impugners thereof, that the World
'may be deprived no longer of the
'participation and use of so publick and
'common a benefit.

After the receipt of his Lordships xxxviii.
Letter, Mr, *Heylyn*, who was ever for-
ward to promote any probable Notion
in Learning, and as ready to obey his
Lordships Commands, he both studied
the point himself, and conferred with
the learned Mr. *Oughtred*, who was a
person most likely for his admired *abili-*
ties in this kind of *Learning* to give sa-
tisfaction ; but his Judgement ran quite
contrary to the Sea-Captain, with whom
he discoursed about his *Hypothesis*, and
shewed him his *Error*, of which he gave

a full account to Mr. Heylyn in a Letter as followeth.

*I asked him the Ground whereon he went, and told him the difficulties which others found. His Ground (he said) was by the Nodes of the Moons Circle, because the Moon accompanied the Earth, having it the Center of her Orb. The difficulties which others imagined, was the finding out the place of the Node or \oslash upon the Superficies of the Earth. His Principle I determine to omit till more leasure, for I had but one whole day to stay in London. The difficulty of the place of \oslash I saw factible at Sea, and accordingly let him understand it. Now being at London, I desired conference with him, and thus I proceeded. You require for the Discovery of the Longitude, the distance of \oslash upon the Earth; Well, imagin you were now at Sea in an unknown place, and that I gave you in degrees of Longitude the distance of \oslash from that Place where you are; what, will you conclude? He was entring into I know not what, by demands of, if this, and if that: But I held him to the Question in the Hypothesis, telling him, he had
what*

what he required. At last he answered ; Why ? methinks you have already done it your self ? You have the distance of ϕ in the degrees of Longitude of the ϕ from an unknown place, and therefore the difference of the ϕ is also unknown, except in that place only : But we require the distance from the other known place which you promised to argue ? At last he began to be sensible of his mistake, and I advised him to desist from such undertakings ; and being of so great an Age, to labour the discovery of another Voyage, or rather only labour to attain to the blessed end thereof, being already opened to us by our Saviour. And this was the end of our Communication, and will be I suppose of that business also. I wonder how for these twelve years, wherein he hath mused upon this Subject, and hath had conference with so many learned men, would receive no Answer : But it seems they gave him too much liberty of digression ; and he having a very ill expression of his confused conceits, entangled himself more and more in perplexities.

Thus at last the old Captain was weaned from his dear Opinions, which
he

he had doted upon for so many years ; but to his further grief, and worthily to be lamented by others, followed the Death of his Friend and learned Lord, who was the honour of his time and degree. And had his Lordship but lived unto these times of ours, since the Institution of the *Royal Society*, unto whom he had commended the Hypothesis, their profound Learning and exquisite Knowledge, rare Invention and Judgement, by which they have made so many wonderful Discoveries of things, would have quickly satisfied his Lordships scrupulosity, which was more to be regarded than the Captains Fancy : 'For this noble Society has made particular Enquiries of Tides, Currents, and Depths of the Sea, since their first foundation, having a vast number of Experiments, a new Instrument (saith 'Dr. Sprat) to sound the Depth of the Sea without a line. The Seas longitude is easie, once taken under their consideration.

Notit. Angl.
Cap. 23.

Dr. Sprats
Royal Soci.

XXXIX.

Mr. *Heylyn* being released of this troublesome Captain, and the Seas longitude, which was out of Mr. *Heylyn's* reach, and proper *Element* ; he thought it

it more useful and necessary, to study the *Statutes* of the Land, the *Laws* and *Customs* of this Nation, *Acts* of Parliament, old *Statutes* and *Records*, to compare them with the times and *circumstances* occurring in *story*, whereby he might inable himself by this means to do better service both to Church and State. And this was a most profitable, as well as delightful *diversion* from his other studies. His Improvements appeared to be so great therein, that afterward he utterly confounded the *utter Barister* and *Scribler* against the State, Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, who being called to question for his *Histrio-mastix*, Mr. *Heylyn* was sent for to the Council-Table, where his Majesty commanded him to read over that seditious Book, and collect thence all such passages, as were scandalous and dangerous to the King and State, and write them down in such *Logical Inferences* as might naturally arise and follow upon the Premises: All which Mr. *Heylyn* exactly performed, and delivered his Copy to the Attorney General Mr. *Noy*, who presented the same to the King and Lords of the Council, of whom it was observed

served, that they *urged* not any thing against Mr. *Pryn* upon his Tryal, but what was contained in Mr. *Heylyn's* Papers of *Collection*, who took occasion at the same time, to publish a Book touching the punishments due by Law, and in point of Practice against such notorious Offenders, as *Pryn*, *Bastwick*, and *Burton*, the Triumviri of Sedition.

- XL. For this and other good services which with wonderful Prudence as well as Diligence Mr. *Heylyn* faithfully performed; his Majesty was graciously pleased to requite him, as *Cæsar* did those Servants who best merited, he bestowed upon them Riches and Honours, saith *Sueton*, *Quanto quis servitio promptior opibus & honoribus extollebantur*. Therefore the Parsonage of *Houghton* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, worth near 400 *l. per Annum*, being made void by the Preferment of Dr. *Lindsel* to the See of *Peterborough*, the King bestowed upon Mr. *Heylyn*, which afterward he exchanged with Dr. *Marshal*, Chanter of the Church of *Lincoln*, for the Parsonage of *Alresford* in *Hampshire*, that was about the same value; to which exchange Mr. *Heylyn* was commanded by his Majesty,

jesty, that he might live nearer the Court
 for readines to do his Majesty service.
 Neither was he *envyed* for this or his
 other *Preferments*, because every one
 knew his *merits* was the only cause of
 his *promotion*. For men of eminent
 Worth and Vertue, when they are ad-
 vanced, saith my Lord Bacon, *Their*
Fortune seemeth but due to them, for no Bacons Essay
cap. 9.
man envyeth the Payment of a Debt.
 That as his Majesty was pleased most
 graciously to expresse upon his loss of
 the Living by the Bishop of *Lincoln*; so
 according to his Royal Promise, he
 doubly *repayed* that Debt by a Living
 of twice the value; into which he was
 no sooner instituted and inducted, but
 he took care for the Service of God to
 be constantly performed, by reading
 the *Common-prayers* in the Church e-
 very morning, which gave great satis-
 faction to the Parish, being a populous
 Market Town; and for the *Communion*
Table, where the blessed Sacrament is *con-*
secrated, he ordered that it should be
 placed according to *ancient Custom*, at
 the East end of the Chancel, and Railed
 about decently to prevent base and pro-
 fane usages; and when the Chancel
 wanted

wanted any thing of Repairs, or the Church it self, both to be amended.

XLI.

Having thus shewed his care first for the house of God, to set it in good order, the next work followed, was to make his own *dwelling-house* a fit and *convenient* Habitation, that to the old Building he added a new one, which was far more graceful; and made thereto a Chappel next to the *Dining-room*, that was beautified and adorned with Silk *hangings* about the Altar; in which Chappel, himself or his Curate read Morning and Evening-prayers to the *Family*, calling in his *Labourers* and *Work-folks*, for he was seldom without them while he lived, saying, *that he loved the noise of a Work-mans Hammer*: For he thought it a deed of Charity, as well as to please his own fancy by often building and repairing to set poor people a work, and encourage painful *Artificers* and *Tradesmen* in their honest Callings. He built a Hall in the middle of the House, from the very *Foundation*, upon the top whereof was a high Tower of *Glass*; on one side of the Hall a fair Garden with pleasant Walks,
Cypress

Cypress Trees, and *Arbours* ; on the other side upon the Front a spacious Court, at the Gate, of which next the Street, a high wooden Bridge that went cross over the Street into the Church-yard, on which himself and Family went to Church, to avoid the dirty common way, which was almost *unpassable*. Besides he made many new Conveniences to the *Out-houses*, and Yards belonging to them ; all which was no small charge to his Purse ; for I have heard him say, it cost him several hundreds of Pounds in *Alresfords-house*, where he in a manner buried his Wifes *Portion* ; yet after his Death, his Eldest Son was unreasonably sued for *dilapidations* in the Court of *Arches*, by Dr. *Beaumont* his Fathers Successor ; but the Gentleman pleaded his Cause so notably before Sir *Giles Swet*, then Judge of the Court, that he was discharged, there being no reason or *justice* he should be troubled for *dilapidations* occasioned by the long War, when his Father was unjustly turned out of his House and Living.

After so much cost bestowed upon XLII.
Alresford, and his *Prebend-house* in West-
 L *minster*

minster, he constantly resided in one of those places, where he kept good *Hospitality*, and took care to relieve the Poor, following also his wonted studies, not only in History, but Fathers, Councils, and *Polemical Divinity*, the better to prepare himself for a new encounter with the old Professor Dr. *Prideaux*, for he resolved to go on in his *University Degrees*, notwithstanding his removal from *Oxon*, and to perform those Exercises required in that Case, in which he always came off with credit and applause. Being now to take his Degree of Batchelor in Divinity, in *July*, *An. Dom. 1630*. Upon these words *Mat. 4. 19. Faciam vos fieri Piscatores hominum*. Upon the Sunday after he preached the Act Sermon, upon this Text, *Mat. 13. 14. But while men slept, his Enemy came and sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his way*. Where he made a seasonable Application of this Subject, (as the Times then stood) of the danger of *Lay-Feoffees* in buying up Impropropriations. A godly project it appeared at the first sight, but afterwards a Tare fit to be rooted up.

— *Pulchra Laverna*

Da

Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumq; videri.

The Pretension of those *Feesees* seemed to be very just and pious, but their *Intention* and Practice was quite contrary, by planting many pensionary Lecturers in many places, where the Preachers were *Non-conformists*, from whom could be expected no better fruits than the overthrow of *Episcopal Government*. The words of Mr. Heylyn's Sermon as to this particular, are as followeth.

‘For what is that which is most aim- XLIII.
 ‘ed at in it, but to cry down the standing
 ‘Clergy of this Kingdom; to under-
 ‘mine the publick Liturgy by Law
 ‘established; to foment factions
 ‘in the State, Schisms in the Church,
 ‘and to have ready Sticklers in every
 ‘place for the advancement of some
 ‘dangerous and deep design? And
 ‘now we are fallen upon this point, we
 ‘will proceed a little further in the pro-
 ‘posal of some things to be considered:
 ‘The Corporation of *Feesees* for buying
 ‘in Impropriations to the Church, doth
 ‘it not seem in appearance to be an
 ‘excellent piece of Wheat, a noble and
 ‘gracious part of *Piety*? Is not this

Templum Domini, Templum Domini!
 'But blessed God that men should thus
 'draw near to thee with their mouths,
 'and be so far from thee in their
 'hearts? For what are those entrusted,
 'in the management of this great bu-
 'siness? Are they not most of them the
 'most active and best affected men in the
 'whole Cause, & *magna partium momen-*
 '*ta*, and chief Patrons of this growing
 'Faction? And what are those that
 'they prefer? Are they not most of
 'them such men, as are and must be ser-
 'viceable to their dangerous Innova-
 'tions? And will they not in time have
 'more Preferments to bestow, than all
 'the Bishops of the Kingdom? And so
 'by consequence a greater number of
 'Dependents to promote their Interest?
 'Yet all this while we sleep and slumber,
 'and fold our hands in sloth, and see
 'perhaps, but dare not note it. High
 'time it is assuredly you should be a-
 'waked, and rouse your selves upon the
 'apprehension of so near a danger.

Full. Ch.
 Hist. Fol.
 195.

If we look further upon this new
 devise and holy project, it being obser-
 ved (as Fuller saith) that those who hold
 the Helm of the Pulpit, always steer the
 peoples

peoples hearts as they please. The Fences
 therefore placed their Lecturers in Mar-
 ket Towns and Corporations, that were
 most populous where they might carry
 the greater sway of electing Burgesses
 to serve in Parliament; or for the
 most part these zealous Preachers were
 such as had been silenced and suspended
 in the Ecclesiastical Courts, or those
 that were well Wishers to *Non-confor-*
mists. The Parties themselves trusted
 in this design of buying Improprati-
 ons; were of such affections as promi-
 sed no good unto the peace and hap-
 piness of the Church of England, being
 twelve in number, four Ministers, four
 common Lawyers, and four Citizens; all
 of them known to be averse unto the
 Discipline of the Church, that as Dr.
 Heylyn saith, 'If such publick mischiefs
 be presaged by *Astrologers* from the
 'Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*;
 'though the first of these be a Planet
 'of a most sweet and gentle influence;
 'what dangers, what calamities might
 'might not be feared from the Con-
 'junction of twelve such persons, of
 'which there was not one that wished
 'well to the present Government:

Full. Ch.
 Hist. Fol.
 136.

Exam. Hist.
 p. 709.

‘And therefore I may say of them as *Domitius Aenobarbus* said unto his friends when they came to congratulate with him for the Birth of *Nero*. *Nil ex se & Agrippina nisi detestabile & malo publico nasci potest.*

XLIV.

But now we must come to the Divinity Schools again, where Mr. *Heylyn* must undergo the publick exercise of disputation for his degree of Doctor, and appear before his severe Judge and Moderator Dr. *Prideaux*, whose animosities and angers since the former Disputation, in all the tract of time from the year 1627. to 1633. were not abated, or in the least cooled, but more inflamed; that the Professor took upon himself the Office of an Opponent rather than of a Moderator, so that those to whom the Opponents part belonged, could hardly put in an Argument for his passion. In the former Disputation Mr. *Heylyn* asserted the visibility and infallibility of the Church; but now he insisteth upon its Authority; and his Questions were these following.

I. *An Ecclesia habeat auctoritatem in determinandis fidei controversiis?*

2. *In-*

2. Interpretandi S. scripturas?
3. Discernendi ritus & ceremonias?

All which he held in the affirmative. XLV.
 (as himself gives an account of the whole disputation) according to the plain and positive Doctrine of the Church of England, in the twentieth Article, which runs thus in *terminis*, viz, *Habet Ecclesia ritus sive ceremonias statuendi jus & in fidei controversiis auctoritatem*, &c. 'But the Doctor was as little pleased with these Questions, and the Respondents stating of them as he was with the former; and therefore to create to the Respondent the greater odium, he openly declared that the Respondent had falsified the publick Doctrine of the Church, and charged the Article with that Sentence, viz. *Habet Ecclesia ritus sive ceremonias*, &c. Which was not to be found in the whole Body of it: And for the proof thereof, he read the Article out of a Book which lay before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Ecclesia quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur*, &c. To which the Respondent readily answered, that he perceived by the lines of the Book

Append. to
the Adver.
in Mr. Sa.
Hist. p. 214;
215.

' which lay on the Doctors Cushion,
 ' that he had read that Article out of the
 ' Harmony of Confessions publisht at
 ' Geneva, Anno 1612. which therein fol-
 ' lowed the Edition of the Articles in
 ' the time of King Edward the Sixth,
 ' Anno 1652. in which that sentence
 ' was not found, but that it was other-
 ' wise in the Articles agreed on in the
 ' Convocation, Anno 1561. to which
 ' most of us had subscribed in our seve-
 ' ral places; but the Doctor still per-
 ' sisting upon that point, and the Re-
 ' spondent seeing some unsatisfiedness in
 ' the greatest part of the Auditory, he
 ' called on one Mr. Westly (who former-
 ' ly had been his Chamber-fellow in Mag-
 ' dalen Colledge) to step to the next
 ' Booksellers-shop, for a Book of Ar-
 ' ticles; which being observed by the
 ' Doctor, he declared himself very wil-
 ' ling to decline any further prosecution
 ' of that particular, and to go on direct-
 ' ly to the Disputation: But the Re-
 ' spondent was resolved to proceed no
 ' further, *usq; dum liberaverit animam*
 ' *suam ab ista calumnia*, as his own
 ' words were, till he had freed himself
 ' from that odious calumny; but it was
 ' not

not long before the coming of the
 Book had put an end to the Controver-
 sie, out of which the Respondent read
 the Article in the English tongue in
his verbis, viz. *The Church hath power to*
decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Antho-
riety in controversies of Faith, &c. which
 done, he delivered the Book to one of
 the standers by who desired it of him,
 the Book passing from one hand to
 another till all men were satisfied. And
 at this point of time it was, that the
 Queens Almoner left the Schools, pro-
 fessing afterwards, that he could see no
 hope of a fair Disputation from so foul
 a beginning. The Doctor went about
 to prove that it was not the Convoca-
 tion, but the High Court of Parlia-
 ment which had the power of order-
 ing matters in the Church, in making
 Canons, ordaining Ceremonies, and
 and determining Controversies in Re-
 ligion; and could find out no other
medium to make it good, but the Au-
 thority of Sir Edward Cook (a learned
 but meer common Lawyer) in one of
 the Books of his Reports. An Argument
 (if by that name it may be called) which
 the Respondent thought not fit to gra-
 ti-

Appendix
 to the Adv.
 p. 218.

‘gratifie with a better answer than *Non credendum esse cuiq; extra suam artem.* And certainly a better answer could not be given by Mr. Heylyn (I may say) *Non Apollinis magis verum atq; hoc responsum.*

XLVI.

This last exercise completed him in all degrees that the University could conferre upon him; being now a Doctor in Divinity, he returned home with honour; where shortly after news was sent him that the King had bestowed upon him a *Prebendary* at *Windsor*, by the intercession of Dr. Neale, then Arch-Bishop of York; but it proved otherwise, for that *Prebendary* was promised to Dr. Potter, when he presented to the King, his Book called *Charity mistaken*; and he also went without it, by reason of the Bishop of Gloucester, not being translated to the Church of Hereford (as was then commonly reported) who kept the same *Prebend* in his hands, by which means both the Candidates were disapointed. This Goodman Bishop of Gloucester at that time affected a remove to the See of Hereford, and had so far prevailed with some great Officers of State, that for mony (which he offered like

like *Simon magus*, and it was taken) his Arch-Bish:
congeal'd *asfir* issued out, and his Election Life p. 248.
 passed: But Arch-Bishop *Land* coming
 opportunely to the knowledge of
 it, and being ashamed of so much
 baseness in the man, who could pretend
 no other merit than his mony; the
 wretched Bishop was glad to make his
 Peace, not only with the resignation of
 his Election, but the loss of his Bribe.
 While these things were agitated, the
 the young Doctor new come from the
 University, where he had run through
 so hard a Task with the *Regius Professor*,
 though he missed *Windsor*, took this
 occasion to make himself merry as the
 Poet did; *musca jocosus mea est* — *Ov.*
 And so fell into this vein of Poetry.

*When Windsor Prebend late dispos'd was,
 One ask'd me sadly, how it came to pass
 Potter was chose, and Heylyn was forsaken?
 I answer'd 'twas by Charity mistaken.*

But this Fancy was soon turned into a XLVII.
 mournful Elegy, by the death of his
 noble Friend the *Attorney General* Mr.
Noy, whose memory he could never
 forget for the honour of delivering to
 him

him the *gracious* message from his Majesty, and for the intimacy he was pleased to bear to him as a bosom friend; that he imparted to the Doctor all the affairs of State, and transactions of things done in his time; which made him so perfect an Historian in this particular; and shewed him his papers, manuscripts and laborious Collections, that he had gathered out of Statutes and *ancient Records* for the proof of the Kings *Prerogative*, particularly before his death at his house in *Brainford* where the Doctor kept *Whitsonside* with him in the year 1634. he shewed to him a great wooden Box that was full of old *Precedents*, for levying a *Naval* aid upon the Subjects, by the sole Authority of the King whenever the preservation and safety of the *Kingdom* required it of them. Mr. *Hammond* L. *Strange* acknowledges that Mr. *Noy* was a most *indefatigable* plodder and searcher of old *Records*. The learned Antiquary Mr. *Selden* (though no friend to the King nor Church) confesses in his excellent book, entituled, *Mare Clausum*, That the Kings of England used to levy money upon the Subjects without the help of Parliament, for the providing of

Observ. on
the Hist. of
K. Ch. p.
121.

L. Str. fol.
131.

of Ships and other necessaries to maintain that Sovereignty which anciently belonged to the Crown. Yet the honest Attorney General for the same good service to the King and Country, is called by Hammond Le Strange, The most pestilent vexation to the Subjects, that this latter Age produced. So true is the old Proverb, some may better steal a Horse than others look on. For it is usual with many, not to judge according to the merits of the Cause, but by the respect or disrespect they bear to the Person, as the Comedian once said.

ibid. fol.
131.

*Duo cum idem faciunt, sæpe & possis dicere
Hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet
Non quod dissimilis res sit, sed quod qui
facit.*

When two does both alike, the self same
(Act,
One suffers pain, the other for the
(Fact
Not the lest shame or punishment; and
(why?
Respect of persons makes Crimes dif-
(ferently.

The

The death of Mr. *Noy*, the more sadly afflicted the Doctor, to lose so dear a Friend and an entire Lover of learned men; during whose time, no unhappy *differences* brake out betwixt the Dean of *Westminster* and the Prebends of that Church, but all things were carried on smoothly by his Lordship, because he knew well that Dr. *Heylyn* had a sure Advocate in Court, both in behalf of himself and his Brethren, if they stood in need of help; that no sooner this worthy person departed the World, but the Bishop so extremely tyrannized over the Prebendaries, infringing their Priviledges, violating their Customes, and destroying their *ancient* Rights; that for the common preservation of themselves and their Successors, they were forced to draw up a Charge against his Lordship, consisting of no less than thirty six Articles, which were presented by way of complaint and *petition* of redress to his sacred Majesty, who forthwith gave order for a Commission to be issued out unto the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Privy Seal Earl of *Portland*, the Lord *Cottingham*, the two Secretaries of State,

State, Sir *John Cook* and Sir *Francis Windebank*: Authorizing them to hold a Visitation of the Church of *Westminster*, to examine the particular charges made against *John* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, and to redress such grievances and pressures, as the Prebends of the said Church suffered by his misgovernment.

The Articles were ordered by the XLIX. Council Table to be translated into *Latin* by Dr. *Heylyn*, (which accordingly he performed) to avoid the common talk and scandal that might arise, if exposed to the publick view of the vulgar ; on *April*, 20. *A. D.* 1634. the Commission bore date, which was not executed but lay dormant till *December* 1635, the Bishop expecting the business would never come to a hearing, he raged more vehemently, dispossessed the Prebends of their Seats, refused to call a Chapter, and to passe their *Accounts*, conferred holy Orders in the said Church without their consent, contrary to an ancient Priviledge, which had been inviolably retained from the first foundation of the Church ; he permitted also Benefices in their gift to be lapsed unto

unto himself, that so he might have absolute power to dispose them to whom he pleased, *Quo teneam nodo?* With many other grievances, which caused the Prebends to present a second Petition to his Majesty, humbly beseeching him to take the ruinous and desperate estate of the said Church into his Princely consideration.

- L. Upon which the former Commission was revived, a day of hearing appointed, and a Citation fixed upon the Church door of *Westminster*, for the Bishops and Prebends to appear on *Jan. 27.* Upon the *25th.* instant. The Prebends were warned by the Subdean to meet the Bishop in *Jerusalem Chamber*, where his Lordship foreseeing the *Storm* that was like to fall upon his head, carried himself very calmly towards them, desiring to know what those things were that were amiss, and he would presently redress them, (though his Lordship knew them very well without an Informer) to which *Dr. Heylyn* replied, that seeing they had put *this* business into *his* Majesties hands, it would ill become them to take the matters out of his into their own. Therefore on *Jan. 27th.*

27th. both Parties met together before the Lords in the *Inner-star Chamber*; where by their Lordships Order; the whole business was put into a methodical course; each *Munday* following being appointed for a day of hearing till a Conclusion was made of the whole affair. On *February* the 1st. The Lords Commissioners, with the Bishop and Prebends met in the *Council-Chamber* at *White-hall*, where it was first ordered that the Plaintiffs should be called by the name of *Prebends supplicant*: Secondly, they should be admitted upon Oath as Witnesses: Thirdly they should, have a sight of all Registers, Records, Books of account, &c. which the Bishop had kept from them: Fourthly, that the first business they should begin with, should be about their Seat, because it made the difference or breach more visible and offensive to the World, than those matters which were private and domestick: And lastly it was ordered, that the Prebends should have an Advocate to plead their Cause, defend their Rights, and represent their Grievances. Accordingly the Prebends *unanimously* made choice of Dr. Peter Heylyn for their Advocate. M The

LI. The business now brought on so fairly, the Lords Commissioners met again on *February* the 8th. following, before whom the Bishop put in his *Plea* about the Seat or *Great Pew* under *Rich. 2.* from which he had disgracefully turned out the Prebends, and *possess* it wholly to himself, or the use of those Strangers to whom he had a special favour; thinking scorn, that honoured Society should sit with him, a Bishop. But the Prebends Advocate proved their Right of sitting there by these particulars. First their original Right. Secondly their derivative Right. Thirdly their possessory Right. How excellently he managed their Cause, and what a mean defence the Bishop made for himself, would be too tedious and impertinent to insert here, concerning none but the Church of *Westminster*. Finally upon hearing the matters on both sides, it was ordered by general consent of the Lords Commissioners, That the Prebends should be restored to their old Seat, and that none should sit there with them, but Lords of the Parliament, and Earls eldest Sons, according to the ancient custom.

But

But what were those differences about a Seat, to the Disputes risen at that time about the *Sabbath*? In the History of which Dr. *Heylyn* was then engaged, and in a short time he perfected it, to satisfy the *scrupulous* minds of some misguided *Zelots*, who turned the observation of the Lords-day into a Jewish Sabbath; not allowing themselves or others the ordinary *Liberties*, nor works of absolute necessity, which the *Jews* themselves never scrupled at. Against which sort of Sabbatarians, the Doctor published his History of the *Sabbath*. The Argumentative part of that Subject was referred to Dr. *White* Bishop of *Ely*; the *Historical* part of it to Dr. *Heylyn*. *Huic nostro tradita est provincia*: Both of their Books never answered to this day; but pickird at by Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *Camdrey*, two Divines of the *Smeectymnian* Assembly, and by some other sorry Writers of less account: But the foundation and superstructure, both in the logical and historical Discourses of those two Pillars of our Church, stand still unmovable; the latter though an Historian upon the Subject does fully answer all the *material*

Arguments of the Adversaries side brought out of Scripture, as well as History : Neither doth the Bishop nor the Doctor in the least encourage or countenance in all their Writings any Profaneness of the Day, when *Christian Liberty* is abused to Licentiousness : Nor on the other side would they have the Religious Observation of the Day brought into superstition : For Sunday amongst some I have known, hath been kept as a Fast Day, contrary to the ancient Opinion and Practice of the *primitive Church* ; who judged it a Heresie and not an Act of Piety. *Nefas est die Dominica jejulare*, that the day should be spent from Morning to Evening so strictly in preaching and praying, in repetition upon repetitions, in doing works of superogation which God never required at their hands, nor any Christian Church commanded, to make the Sabbath a burden, that ought to be a Christians *delight*, is new Divinity among the reformed Churches ; in *Geneva* it self, before and after Divine Service, the People are at liberty for manly Recreations and Exercises.

Upon complaint made before Lord Chief

cheif Justice *Richardson* of some disorders by Feasts, Wakes, Revels, and ordinary pastimes on Sundays; particularly in the County of *Somerset*. His Majesty ordered that the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* should send a speedy account of the same.

The Bishop called before him seventy two of the Orthodox and ablest Clergy men among them, who certified under their several hands, that on the Feasts dayes (which commonly fell upon Sundayes) the service of God was more solemnly performed, and the Church was better frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, then upon any Sunday in the year,

To decry the clamours of the Sabbatarians, a Lecture read by Doctor *Prideaux* at the Act in *Oxon*, Anno 1622. was translated into english, in which he solidly discoursed both of the Sabbath and Sunday, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers and the most approved Writers of the Protestant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture was also ushered with a preface: In which there was prooffe offered of these three propositions. First that the

A. L. Life
pag. 242

keeping holy one day of seven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandement. Secondly that the alteration of the day is only an humane and ecclesiastical constitution. Thirdly that still the Church hath power to change the day, and transfer it to some other. The name of *Prideaux* was then so sacred, that the Book was greedily bought up by whole of the Puritan faction, but when they found themselves deceived of their expectation. The Book did cool their colors and abate their clamour.

A. B. life
pag. 16

LIII.

Since our Saviours reproof of the *Jews*, for their superstitious fear of transgressing the traditions and Commandements of their Fathers by which they kept the *Sabbath* with more rigour than God had commanded, they are now bent upon the other extreme as *Buxton* tells us, so hard a thing it is to keep a medium between two extreams, *Quanto voluptatis isti percipiunt* (saith he) *tanto se devotius Sabbatum colere statuunt*. The more pleasures they take on the Sabbath day, the more devoutly they thought that they keep the Sabbath. So that the rigid *Sabbatarian* hath no example of *Jew* or *Christian*, and I am sure

Bux. Sy-
nag. Jud.
Cap. 11.

sure no Command of God in Scripture, nor *President* in Antiquity or *Ecclesiastical* History, but will find there the Lords-day is from Ecclesiastical Institution. I speak not this (I abhor it) to *animate*, or the least encourage people in looseness and debauchery, to neglect the Duties of Religion, or the Worship and Service of God upon this holy day, which they ought as they tender their Souls, with singular Care and Conscience to observe ; but hereby I think my Father in Law is justified, (though his own Book is best able to vindicate himself) that his Opinion is *orthodox*, both according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and the *judgement* and *practice* of Protestant Churches, that the Lords-day should be Religiously observed ; and yet withal, the lawful *liberties*, and urgent *necessities* of the People preserved, and not to be so tied up, and superstitiously fearful, that they dare not kindle a *Fire*, dress *Meat*, visit their *Neighbours*, sit at their own *Door*, or walk abroad, no nor so much as talk with one another, except it be in the Poets words.

— Of God, Grace, and Ordinances,
As if they were in heavenly Trances.

Observ.
on the Hist
of K. Ch.
pag. 90.

To which I may add a more smart and witty Epigram, upon the scruple and needless dissatisfaction in them, not only about the Sabbath but our Church and Religion; in those Verses of Dr. Heylyn to Mr. Hammond L' Estrange, as followeth.

*A learned Prelate of this Land,
Thinking to make Religion stand
With equal poise on either side,
A mixture of them thus he tryed;
An Ounce of Protestant he singlet, h,
And then a Dram of Papist minglet, h,
With a Scruple of a Puritan,
And boyled them in his Brain pan;
But when he thought it would digest,
The Scruple troubled all the rest.*

- LIV. Notwithstanding this scrupulosity in them, the World knows their hypocritical Practices under all those zealous Pretences, how light they are in the Ballance, and how extraordinary a thing it is, to find from their hands downright honesty and plain dealing; they are too much
like

like the *Scribes and Pharisees*, who by godly shews of long Prayers, sad Countenances, Justification of themselves, that they were the only Righteous, and all others Sinners; played the Hypocrites most abominably; to deceive the *vulgar sort*, they made Religion a meer mock and empty show *πρὸς τὸ θαλάσσιον*, saith our Saviour, to be seen like Stage-players in a Theater, *Nam tota actio est histrionica*, as *Erasmus* well observeth, their whole carriage was dramatick, to make a feigned Pageantry and Ostentation of Piety. Yet *John Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, in compliance with this Sect, out of discontent and revenge, because deprived of the great Seal, and commanded by the King to retire from *Westminster*; transformed himself into one of these Angels of *new Light*, and made himself the Archangel and Head of their Party. First of all by writing his pretended Letter to one *Titly Vicar of Grantham*, against the holy Communion Table standing Altar-wise; to which *Dr. Heylyn* made a sudden and sharp reply, in his Book entituled, *A Coal from the Altar*; to which the Bishop within a Twelve-month after (he took time enough for the

Erasm. An-
not. in loc.

15.
1.
1.

Arch Bish.
Life p. 311.

the Work) did return an Answer under the Title of *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, pretending withal that this was written long ago by a Minister in *Lincolnshire*, against Dr. Cole, a Divine in Queen *Marys* Reign. No sooner the King heard of this new Book, but he sent a Command to Dr. *Heylyn*, to write a speedy Answer to it, and not in the least to spare the Bishop; Neither did the Doctor baulk the grand *Sophos*, but detected all his false Allegations, and answered them that were true, which the Bishop had wrested to a contrary sense, if we will look into the Doctors Book, called by him *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. All this while the Bishop (as it must be confest being a man of Learning) writ against his own Science and Conscience; so dear is the passion of revenge, to gratifie which, some men wilfully sin against the Light of their own Souls; therefore the Bishop, according to the Apostles word was *αὐτοκατάχευτος*, condemned of himself. For look upon him in the point of practice, and we shall find the Communion Table was placed Altar-wise in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, whereof he

he was Bishop, and in the Collegiate Church of *Westminster*, of which he was Dean; and lastly in the private Chappel of his own house, (as Dr. Heylyn saith) in which it was *not only placed Altar-wise, but garnished with rich Plate and other costly Utensils, in more than ordinary manner.* By all which, the Bishop needed no further refutation of his Book, than his own Example, that in those places where he had Authority, the *Holy Table* did not stand in Gremio and Nave of the Quire as he would have it fixed, but above the *Steps* upon the Altar, close to the East end of the Quire, *ex vi catholicae consuetudinis*, according to the ancient manner and custom in the Primitive Catholic Church. But *hinc illa lachrymæ* ever since, this mischief followed his Book, that in most Country Churches to this day, the Table is set at the *hither end* of the Chancel, without any *Traverse* or *Rails* to fence it; Boys fling their Hats upon it, and that which is worse, Dogs piss against it; Country Juries write their Parish accounts, *Amerciaments, By-Laws, &c.* all which is a most horrible profanation, and not to be suffered.

But

LV. But now *John* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, who would have removed the holy Communion Table from its proper place, and had displaced his Prebends of their ancient Seat, was himself at this time, *Anno Dom.* 1637. thrown out of his Episcopal Chair, by sentence of the *Star-Chamber*, for endeavouring to corrupt the Kings Evidence in a Cause of *Bastardy* brought before his Majesties Justices of Peace, at *Spittle* Sessions, in the County of *Lincoln*; which business afterward came to a hearing before the Lords in *Star-Chamber*, by whose definitive sentence, the Bishop was suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, deprived of all his Ecclesiastical Preferments, deeply fined, and his Complices with him; and afterward committed to the Tower of *London*, where he continued Prisoner for three years; and in all that space of time, *his Lordship did never hear Sermon or publick Prayers*, to both which he was allowed liberty; but instead thereof he studied Schism and Faction, by his own Example, and his Pen disguisedly.

*Arch-Bish.
Life p. 324.*

LVI. During the time of his Lordships Imprisonment, Dr. *Heylyn* was chosen *Trea-*

Treasurer for the Church of *Westminster*; in which Office he discharged himself with such diligence and fidelity, that he was continued in it from year to year, till the Bishops *release* out of the *Tower*, and his removal back again to *Westminster*. While he was *Treasurer*, he took care for the *repairs* of the Church, that had been neglected for many years: First of the great *West-Isle* that was ready to fall down, was made firm and strong; and of the *South-side* of the lower *West-Isle* much decayed, he caused to be new *timbred*, *boarded* and *leaded*; but chiefly the curious Arch over the preaching place (that looketh now most magnificently) he ordered to be new *vaulted*, and the Roof thereof to be raised up to the same height with the rest of the *Church*; the charge of which came to 434 *l.* 18 *s.* 10 *d.* He regulated also some disorders of the *Quire*, particularly the *exacting* of *Sconces* or perdition mony, which he divided among them that best deserved it, who diligently kept Prayers, and attended upon other *Church Duties*.

Whilest he was *Treasurer*, his Brethren the *Prebendaries*, to testifie their good

LVII.

good affections to him, presented him to the Parsonage of *Islip* near *Oxford*; a very good Living, worth about 200 *l. per Annum*, then by the death of Dr. *King* made void; but by reason of the distance from *Alresford* (though standing most conveniently to taste the sweet pleasures of the University) he thought fit to exchange it for another nearer hand, the *Rectory* of *South-warnborough* in the County of *Hampshire*, that was in the gift of *St. Johns Colledge* in *Oxon*, to which exchange he was furthered by the Arch-Bishop, who carried a great stroke in that Colledge, of which he had been President. It pleased God soon after, to visit him and his Family at *Alresford* with a terrible fit of Sicknes, of which none escaped (the Disease was so *contagious*) but the *Cook's* boy in the Kitchen, who was then Master Cook for the whole Family; and he performed his part so well, in making their *broths* and other necessaries, that he was the best Physitian among the Doctors, for by his *Kitchen Physick* the Sick was cured. No sooner Dr. *Heylyn* recovered of the distemper, but he betook himself from his *Bed* to his *Book*,
and

and fell upon a more than ordinary piece of *study*. The History of the Church of *England* since the Reformation. An easie matter for others to tread the Path when he had found out the Way. Though he is dead, he yet speaketh, and the *truth* of things without respect of persons; not to ingratiate himself with the Parliament, and Presbyterian party, to make our Religion it self Parliamentary, which Papists and Presbyterians affirm; he spared no pains nor cost to search into old Records, Registers of Convocation, Acts of Parliament, Orders of Council Table, and had the use of Sir *Robert Cottons* Library to take out what Books he pleased, leaving a *pawn* of Mony behind for them. In all his other Writings what a faithful Historian he hath appeared to the World, is sufficiently known, and will be shewed in this particular. In the mean while let not men be too credulous of anothers Transcriptions, that are under question, *an verbum de verbo expressum extulit?* Whether they are copyed out exactly from the originals, (wherein lyes the main controverſie in matter of fact) which I
am

Tacit. in
vit Agric.

am not bound, nor other men, to believe till we are convinced by our own Eyes; besides it is an inglorious encounter to fight with a mans Ghost, after he has been dead near twenty years, with whom the late Historian, nor any other whilst he was living, durst venture with him in the point. The Heathens scorn'd to rake in the Ashes of the dead, but as Tacitus says of Agricola, *ut in loco Piorum manibus destinato placide quiescat*, that he might rest without disturbance in the place appointed for Souls. However the Doctors Learning and Fidelity in History is so publickly known, that it is not in the power of any Scot or English Aristarchus to blast his good Name. And let this suffice at present.

Magnus Aristarcho, major Homerus erat.

LVIII. Whilst he was so intent upon the History of Reformation, he found little encouragement to go on in these studies; for the discontents that boyled in this Nation, and the Commotions then begun in Scotland, upon pretence of the Common-prayer imposed upon them: And a mere pretence indeed it was; for here-

in

in was nothing done, but with the *con-*
sent and *approbation* of their own Scot-
 tish Bishops, who made what Alterations
 in the *Liturgy* they pleased, to which
 they had his Majesties Royal *Assent*; but
 the blame was wholly laid upon the
 Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who only
 commended the Book to them, *spe qui-*
dem laudabili sed eventu pessimo, as the
 learned Dr. *Bates* said, the success be-
 ing improsperous, though the enter-
 prise commendable, the Arch-Bishop
 unjustly censured for it; he caused Dr.
Heylyn to translate the Scotch Liturgy
 into *Latin*, and his Lordship intended
 to set out his own Apology with the
 Book, to vindicate himself from those
aspersions thrown upon him, that the
 World might be satisfied with his Ma-
 jesties Piety and Goodness, and his
 Lordships own care and readiness to
 serve that Nation; but their hasty Re-
 bellion (to which they were ever pre-
 cipitant) put an end to the Bishops
 Apology, and the Doctors Translation.

Elench.
mot. nup.

Hamilton whom Dr. *Burnet* doth so
 highly applaud, had a party that not
 only opposed this Liturgy, but betray-
 ed the King on all occasions; nay some

N

of

Arch-Bish.
Life p. 355.

Observ. on
the Hist. of
the Reign.
of K. Ch.
p. 151.

of the Bed-Chamber who were Scots, were grown so saucy and impudent, that they used to ransack the good Kings Pockets, ~~when he was in Bed~~; to transcribe such Letters as they found, and send the Copies to their Country-men in the way of Intelligence. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of Scots in Fact a King, though not in Title, His Majesty being looked on by them as a Cypher in the Arithmatick of State. The Scotch Covenanters, after the unhappy War was begun, called it *Bellum Episcopale*, the Bishops War, raised only to uphold their *Hierarchy*; but the truth is as the Doctor proveth, Though *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*, were made the occasions, yet they were not the causes of the war, Religion being but the Vizard to disguise the business; which Covetousness, Sacrilege, and Rapine had the greatest hand in; for the King resolving to revoke all grants of Abby Lands, the Lands of Bishopricks and Chapters, and other Religious Corporations, which have been vested in the Crown by Act of Parliament, were conferred on many of the Nobility and Gentry in his Fathers Minority, when he was under Protectors; whence the Nobili-

ty of Scotland made use of discontented and seditious Spirits, (under colour of the Canons and Common prayer) to embroyl that Kingdom; that so they might keep their Lands, and hold up their Power and Tyranny over the people.

To appease the Tumults in Scotland, and quench the sparks of Sedition, that began to kindle in England; the King called a Parliament, and issued out his Writ for Clerks in Convocation; at which time the Doctor was chosen by the Colledge of Westminster, their Clerk to sit in Convocation, where he proposed a most excellent expediency, (which would be of happy use if still continued) for the satisfaction of some scrupulous Members in the House of Commons, about the Ceremonies of our Church; That there might be a mutual conference by select Commitees between the House of Commons and the lower House of the Convocation, that the Clergy might give the Commons satisfaction in the point of Ceremonies, and all other things relating to the Church; which motion from him was well accepted and generally assented thereto: And no doubt a most happy success, would have fol-

LIX.

lowed upon it, not only to take away all scruples, but to beget a *Reverence* and *Love* from the Commons to the Clergy, by such a mutual Conference and Conversation. But this Parliament being then suddenly dissolved put a *period* to that and all other business, at the news of which, brought unexpectedly to the Doctor, while he was busied then at the election for the School of *Westminster* his pen fell from his hand, himself struck dumb with admiration.

Obstupuit, steteruntque comæ, vox faucibus hæsit.

A sad and unfortunate day it was, saith the Doctor and the news so unpleasing, brought him by a friend, whilst he was writing some dispatches, it so astonished him (though he had heard some inkling of it the night before) that suddenly the Pen fell out of his hand, and long it was before he could recollect his Spirits to give an answer.

Obser. on
the His. of
K. Ch. pag.
176.

The Convocation usually endeth in course the next day after the *dissolution* of Parliament: But the Doctor well knowing that one great end of calling Parliaments is to raise the King money for the publick concerns, he therefore went to *Lambeth* and showed the Arch-
Bishop

Bishop a precedent in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* for granting subsidies, or a benevolence by Convocation to be levied upon the Clergy, without the help of a Parliament; whereby the Kings necessities for money might be supplied, and so it successfully fell out, the Arch-Bishop acquainting the King with this present expediency the Convocation still continued sitting, notwithstanding the dissolution of Parliament. And when this was scrupled at by some of the house, the Doctor resolved their doubts, and rid them of their fears by shewing them the distinction betwixt the Kings Writ for calling a Parliament and that for assembling a Convocation. Their different forms and independence of one upon another. Finally it was determined by the King himself, and his learned counsel in the Law, That the Convocation called by *his Majesties Writ*, was to be continued till it was dissolved by his Writ notwithstanding the dissolution of Parliament. This benefit the King got by their sitting, six subsidies under the name of *Benevolences*, which the Clergy paid to him.

On *Friday May 29* the Canons, of *LXI.*

that Convocation were unanimously subscribed unto by all the Bishops and Clergy. No one of them dissenting but the Bishop of *Glocester* for which he was deservedly suspended, who afterward turned Papist, and was the only *renegado* Prelat of this Land Of this Convocation. Sir *Edward Deering* to shew his wit (which he dearly payd for after) in one of his speeches to the house of Commons, was pleased to say, that every one, that had a hand in making their *Canons* should come unto the Bar of the House of Commons with a Candle in one hand, and a book in the other, and there give fire to his own *Canons*, which good fortune afterward fell upon his own book of speeches: *Nec Lex est justior ulla*, which by order of the House of Commons was burnt in the Fire by the hand of the common Hang-man. A publick disgrace that he worthily deserv'd for his proud Eloquence, in often prating against the King and Church. In another of his speeches he tells them, *That if they could bring the Lords to sit in the House of Commons, and the King to be but as one of the Lords then the work was done.* And finally in a nother * he so abuseth all the

Collect of
Speeches by
Sir Edw.
Deering
printed,
1642.

* Collection
of Speeches,
pag. 151.

the Cathedrals in the Kingdom with so foul a mouth, as if he had licked up the filth of all the former Libells, to vomit it at once upon them. And yet this Gentleman afterward (as Doctor Heylyn saith) made it his earnest suit to be *Dean of Canterbury*, which being denied him by the King, in a great discontent he returned to the Parliament &c. But lastly to consider the sad condition of that Convocation before they were dissolved, the Doctor as one of their fellow members speaks most feelingly, during all the time of their sitting, they were under those horrid fears, by reason of the discontents falling upon the Parliaments dissolution, that the King was fain to set a Guard about *Westminster-Abby* for the whole time of their sitting. Poor men to what a distress were they brought; in danger of the Kings displeasure if they rose, of the peoples fury if they sate; in danger of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when the work was done; and after all, obnoxious to the Lash of censorious tongues for their good intendments for notwithstanding their great care,

Obfer. p.
178.

Ibid. p. 181.

‘ that all things might be done with
 ‘ decency and to edification, every one
 ‘ must have his blow at them.

For *Pryn* published the unbishop-
 ing of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and his other
 Libel of news from *Ipswich*, wherein he
 called the Arch-Bishop of *Cant.* Arch-
 Agent of the Devil, that *Belzebub* him-
 self had been Arch-Bishop, and all the
 Bishops were Luciferian Lords.

Arch-Bish.
 life. l. 4.
 pag. 309.

‘ like reproaches were thundered out
 ‘ of the Pulpit by *Burton* in his Sermon
 ‘ on *Pro. 24. v. 22.* where he abu-
 ‘ sed the Text, and Bishops sufficiently
 ‘ calling them instead of Fathers, Step-
 ‘ Fathers; for Pillars, Cater-Pillars, limbs
 ‘ of the Beast Factors for Antichrist, and
 ‘ antichristian Muthromes. *Bastwick* laid
 about him before in his *Flagellum E-*
piscoporum Latialium, when he had worn
 out that Rod, took another in his Lita-
 ny. Finally the Rabble had a cursed Song
 among them, to affront the poor Cler-
 gy with, as they met them; saying

Your Bishops are bite-Sheep.

Your Deans are Dunces.

Your Preists are the Preists of Baal.

The Devil fetch them all by bunches.

And

And now the Fire smothering in the **LXII.**
Embers at last broke *forth* into an open flame at the Session of the next Parliament, which was fatall both to Church and State: and finally to themselves that with scorn they were turn'd out of *doors* by their own Servants who became their Masters. The first fitting of them, was on a dismal day notable and infamous, *Novemb. 3d.* when Henry 8 began the dissolution of *Abbyes* and Papists with Protestants were laid *both on one hurdle and burnt together at the same Stake*, the King then promised his people should for ever be acquitted of Taxes, *ut facilius illi monasteria concederentur*, saith Sanders, that Monasteries and Religious houses might be more easily granted to him. The Parliament opening on that critical day Archbishop Land was advertised in a letter to move the King, that for good luck sake their *Session* might be put off to another day, but this being looked upon by his Lordship as a superstitious conceit he waved the *motion* of it to the King, which proved afterward the fall of himself and the *Hierarchie*. At the opening of this long Parliament, a general Rumour

Masons
Book of
Martyrs
pag. 202.

Sand. de
Sch. Augl.
p. 202.

Rumor was spread abroad that Doctor Heylyn was run away for fear of an approaching storm, that was like to fall on his own head, as well as on his Lordships Grace the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, but he, who was ever of an undaunted Spirit, would not *pusillanimously* desert the Cause of the King and Church then in question, but speedily hastned up to London from Alresford to confute the common Calumny and false report raised on him by the Puritan faction, that he appeared the next day in his Gown and Tippet in Westminster Hall, and in the Church, with his accustomed formalities of Cap, Hood, and Surplice, employed also his Pen boldly in defence of the Bishops right, when the temporal Lords began to shake the Hierarchy in passing a vote, that no Bishop should be of the Committee for examination of the Earl of Strafford, being *causa sanguinis*, upon which the Doctor drew up a breif and excellent discourse full of Law and History, entituled *de jure paritatis Episcoporum*. The Bishops right of Peerage, (so consequently that they ought to sit in that Committee) their priviledge and right are maintained

ed by him, which by Law or ancient custom doth belong unto them.

It is worth our while, to see what LXIII. he hath written upon this point in the cause of *Bloud* many years after the first discourse of the Bishops *Peerage* when there was little hopes of ever their returning again into the House of Peers. That the Bishops were disabled by some ancient Canons (saith he) 224. from sentencing any man to death, and (it may be) from being present when any such sentences was pronounced; I shall easily grant; but that they were disabled from being assistants in such case, from taking the examinations or hearing the depositions of Witnesses, or giving counsel in such matters, as they saw occasion, I beleive not. Certain I am, that it is, and hath been otherwise in point of practice. And that the Bishops sitting as Peers in an English Parliament, were never excluded before this time from any such assistance, as by their Gravity and Learning, and other abilities they were enabled to give in any dark or difficult business (though of blood and death) which were brought before them.

Obfer p

no valid
to fill out
long do.

Observator
rescued,
p. 283

, As

' As for the Council of Toledo it saith
 ' nothing to their disadvantage, the Ca-
 ' non is, *si quis sacerdotum discursor in a-*
 ' *lien's periculis extiterit apud Ecclesiam*
 ' *proprium perdat gradum*, that if any
 ' Priest shall intermeddle in Cases endan-
 ' gering the Life of others, let him be
 ' degraded. Hereupon I conclude, (as
 ' to the present business in hand) that
 ' the Bishops were to be admitted to all
 ' preparatory Examination, because their
 ' counsel and assistance would have
 ' tended rather to the preservation, than
 ' conducted to the endangering of the
 ' Parties Life. I saw about that time
 ' (saith he) a little Manuscript Tract,
 ' entituled, *De jure paritatis Episcoporum*,
 ' that is to say, of the right of the Peerage
 ' of the Bishops, in which their Privi-
 ' ledges were asserted, as to that parti-
 ' cular : But they not willing to contend
 ' in a business which seemed so little to
 ' concern them ; or else not able to strive
 ' against the present stream which seemed
 ' to carry all before it, suffered them-
 ' selves to be excluded at that time,
 ' without protesting to the contrary,
 ' or interposing in defence of their an-
 ' cient Rights. And this I look on as
 the

Observ. on
 the Hist. of
 R. Ch. pref.

the first degree of their Humiliation; For when it was perceived that a business of so great consequence might be done in Parliament without their counsel and consent; it opened a wide gap unto their Adversaries: First to deprive them of their Votes, and after to destroy even the Calling it self. But this was not the main point which the Commons aimed at; they were resolved to have a close Committee, to take Examination in the business of the Earl of *Strafford*, and were not willing any Bishops should be of it; for fear, lest favouring the Earls cause or person, they might discover any part of those secret practices which were had against him, and thereby fortifie and prepare him for his just defence, when the Cause should come unto a Tryal. Thus far the Doctor writ of this Subject, when he lived in *Lacyes Court* at *Abingdon*. What he presented to the Bishops themselves at the time of *Strafford's* Tryal, concerning the right of *Peerage*, deserved a rare commendation, especially at that conjuncture of time, that he could command his *Parts* and *Pen* of a sudden to write on this Sub-

Subject, or any other if there was need that did conduce to the publick good either of Church or State ; and above all, make a quick dispatch in accomplishing what he had once undertaken and begun ; a Vertue for which *Q. Curtius* praiseth *Alexander* among other excellent qualities, *Nullam virtutem regis istius, magis quam celeritatem laudaverim*, I can commend no Vertue more in this King than speed. So *Lucan* of *Cæsar*.

*— Nam Cæsar in omnia præcep-
Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum.*

LXIV.

But for those quick *dispatches*, the Doctor endured many tedious waitings at the *backs* of Committee men in that Parliament, especially in the business of *Mr. Pryn*, about his *Histrion-mastix*, for which he was kept four days under Examination, because he had furnished the Lords of the Privy Council, with matters out of that Book, which *Mr. Pryn* alledged was the cause of all his sufferings, having joyned him in a Petition with the Lord Arch-Bishop, as the chief Agents, and Contrivers of the troubles he had undergone. Great hopes had the Committee

Observator
refc. p. 56.

mittee by his often dancing attendance after them, to sift the Doctor, if they could gather any thing by his speeches, whether the Arch-Bishop had moved him to draw up those *Exceptions* against Pryn's Book; which he denyed, or at least was not bound to confess; for as he was faithful to his Sovereign, so he would never prove himself unfaithful to his chief Minister both in Church and State: For they would have been glad of any matter to put into their charge, against that worthy Prelate, against whom Mr. Pryn and others of his Enemies never ceased prosecuting, till the Parliament took of his head; and the Ax having once tasted of Blood, had a keen Appetite for more; went on to the Supreme Head of all.

Whilst the Doctor was thus *harassed* LXV.
before the Committees, his old Friend the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in great favour with them and the whole Parliament, was set at liberty from his Imprisonment, and returned from the *Tower* to the *Church* (after so long a time of his *suspension* and *indevotion*) to say his Prayers, and hear his Brother *Peter Heylyn* preach in his course at the Abby in *Westminster*

ster: Where notwithstanding the holiness of that place, (to which his Lordship had no regard or reverence, but only to the *Name and Thing* of it) he was resolved publickly to revenge himself for old done deeds, that ought to have been forgotten ; by disturbing the Doctor in his Sermon before all the *Congregation*, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, and with *Reverence* to his Lordship, against all good Manners, and the common Rules of Civility.

— *Mala meus furorq; Vecors*

In tantam impulerit culpam.

Cat.

LXVI.

Strange ! That a Bishop could not rule his *passions* for one hour, when no *provocation* was given by the Doctor, whose Sermon from the beginning to the end of it, throughout the whole Discourse, was *pacificatory*, exhorting Christians to Moderation, Love and Charity among themselves, for the preservation of the publick Peace, although they differed in some Opinions : For satisfaction of the Reader, I will set down the Doctors own words, *viz.*

Is it not that we are so affected with our own Opinions, that we condemn who-soever shall opine the contrary ; and so far
wed-

wedded to our own Wills, that when we have espoused a quarrel, neither the Love of God, nor the God of Love shall divorce us from it: Instead of hearkning to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not if the whole miscarry so that himself may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which stubborn hight of Pride, what Quarrels have been raised? What Schisms in every corner of this our Church? (To enquire no further) some rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to a lawful Government, derived from Christ and his Apostles to these very Times. At the speaking of which words, the Bishop of Lincoln sitting in the great Pew, (which was before the Seat of Contention) knocked aloud with his staff upon the Pulpit, saying, No more of that point, No more of that point, Peter. To whom the Doctor readily answered without hesitation, or the least sign of being dashed out of Countenance. I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done. Which was as followeth, viz. Others coming into close and dangerous Factions, because some points of speculative Divinity are otherwise maintained by
some

some than they would have them: Also regardless of the common Peace, that rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our blessed Peace-maker for seeking to compose the differences, though to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent his sacred Body on the least occasion; rarely conceiving that a difference in a point of Judgment, must needs draw after it a disjoyning of the affections also, and that conclude at last in an open Schism. Whereas diversity of Opinions, if wisely managed, would rather tend to the discovery of the Truth, than the disturbance of the Church, and rather whet our industry than excite our passions. It was S. Cyprians resolution, *Neminem, licet alicui senserit, a Communionem amovere*, not to suspend any man from the Communion of the Church, although the matter then debated, was (as I take it) of more weight than any of the points now controverted; which moderation, if the present Age had attained unto, we had not then so often torn the Church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviours Body, which was not offered to his Garments.

At this, and all the other parts of
his

his Sermon, the *Auditory* was highly pleased, but the Bishop in so great wrath that his voice, and the noise of his Pastoral Staff, if I may so call it had lik'd to have frighted the whole Flock or Congregation out of the Fold. Considering the ill posture of *Affairs*, in which the Nation then stood overflowing with seditions and schisms. *Novem Reipub. Fluitantem in alto tempestatibus seditionum et discordiarum*, as Tully once said: I think a more seasonable Sermon could not have been preached, to move men of different perswasions unto Peace and Unity one with another, which is a most Christian Doctrine. After the Sermon was ended, he took St. Robert *Filmore*, his learned Friend with some other Gentlemen of quality, that were his *Auditors*, out of the Church along with him to his House, where he immediately sealed up the *Book* that contained this Sermon and other Notes, to which they also set *their Seales*, that so there might not be the least alteration made in the Sermon, nor any ground to suspect it, which was presently after sent to the Bishop, who kept it in his hands for some days,

in which time his *passions* allayed, being more calm at home than in the Church; sent the Book untouched back again to Dr. *Heylyn*; in whose Study it had lain *dormant* for the space of fifteen years; (when the danger of an old Sermon being called in question, must needs be over) by my perswasion and his consent, he was pleased to give me leave to open that Apocalyptical *Book*, that I might read and see the mystery that lay hid under the Seals for so many years, which indeed only proved a *pious* and *practical* Sermon for Edification, to moderate the heats of those fiery Spirits, that were like to make a Combustion in the whole Kingdom. The Bishop deserved a sharper rebuke for his own *Sermon*, which about that time he preached before the King, when he made a strange *Apostrophe* from his Text to the Sabbath, falling down upon his knees in the Pulpit at the middle of his Sermon, beseeching his Majesty in most earnest and humble manner, *That greater care might be taken, for the better Observation of the Sabbath day*: Which was looked upon by many as a piece of most grand *Hypocrisie*, who knew his
opinion

opinion well by his *practice*, for he did ordinarily play at *Bowles* on Sundays, after Evening Service; shot with Bows and Arrows, and used other exercises and recreations according to his Lordships pleasure. Nay, more than all this, as the Doctor informs us in his *Animadversions* on the Church-History of *Britain*, 'he caused a *Comedy* to be acted before him at his house at *Bugden*; not only on a Sunday in the Afternoon, but upon such a Sunday also on which he had publickly given *sacred Orders* both to Priests and Deacons: And to this *Comedy*, he invited the Earl of *Manchester*, and diverse others of the Neighbouring Gentry; though on this turning of the Tide, he did not only cause these *Doctors* to be condemned for some Opinions which formerly himself allowed of, but moved at the Assembly in *Jerusalem Chamber*, that all Books should be publickly burnt, which had disputed the Morality of the Lords Day-Sabbath. But the Bishop now restored to his dignity, by means of that unhappy Parliament with whom he was in high favour, expected that Dr. *Heylyn* should have submitted himself to

Animad.

pag. 243.

his Lordship, and particularly acknowledge his Error in putting out the *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, which he commanded him to call in; to which the Doctor replied, that he received his Majesties Royal Command for the writing and printing of that Book, in which he had asserted nothing, but what he was still ready to *justify* and *defend against* the *Opposers* of it. And how could it be imagined otherwise, but he would vindicate his own Writings? For men of known Learning and Integrity, satisfied with the truth and right of their *Cause*, its impossible to bring them over to a Retractation against their own Conscience. The Case ranthus betwixt St. *Jerom* the Presbyter, and St. *Augustin* the Bishop. *Hortaris me ut παλινοδιαν super quodam Apostoli Capitulo Canam, absit. — unusquisq; abundet suo sensu.*

Jer. Epist.
18.

LXVIII No sooner was the Doctor out of the Pulpit, but he must come again before the *Chair* of the old Committee, to answer unto new Articles that Mr. *Pryn* had drawn up against him; more especially for a Sermon that he had preached many years agoe; which Mr. *Pryn*

Pryn (who had then Ears) heard himself, and brought along with him some other Auditors, a Company of the Rabble sort to vex him. *Urgeris turba circum te Stante* — thrusting and jostling the Doctor in the Croud, and railing against him with most vile *speeches*; to which he made no reply in this sorry Condition, but patiently endured all their affronts and injuries; for it was to no purpose to take further notice of an ungovern'd Multitude. *Non opus est argumentis sed fustibus*, with whom nothing can prevail but Club-Law: But contrary to all their expectation he got the victory of the day, and was dismissed with a *Quietus est*, by reason of a Letter which he had wisely sent before hand (*Ingenium res adverse nudare solent*) to a leading Gentleman of that Committee, who was before his most bitter Enemy, but now mollified with the Letter, he allayed the fury of his Brethren. And glad was he to be so delivered out of the *Lyons* mouth, telling his Friends, that he would now go to *Alresford* with a purpose never to come back to *Westminster* whilst these two good Friends of his abode in it, viz. the

House of Commons and the *Lord of Lincoln*. Accordingly he hastened down to his Family and Parishoners, to solace his Soul with peace after his so long patience under *Westminster* troubles.

O Quid solutis est beatius curis

Cum mens omnis reponit, ac peregrino

Val. Cat. Labore fessi, venimus ad Larem nostrum

Desideratoq; acquiescimus Lecto —

That is: to say

*O what's more happy than a patient Mind,
Loaded with cares and fears, relief to find:
Sore Labours first to suffer; than retire
To our own Home and Bed; the hearts desire.*

LXIX.

Welcōme was he to his *Parishoners* in the Country, who always loved him in the time of his *Prosperity* and *Adversity*, because of his affable and courteous behaviour; his *Hospitality* among them, and Relief to their Poor; his readiness to do his *Neighbours* any kindness, by Counsel or other assistance; his constant preaching during all time of his abode with them, and in his absence when he was called to Court, supplied them with an able *Curate*; he was resolved now to spend his days among them, and

and his Parishoners at *South-warnborough*, where he had the same respect and love. But the good *Shepherd* was soon driven away from his Flock by the unhappy Wars following; for the Seeds of Schism and Separation amongst the Saints, taking Root, quickly sprang up into open Rebellion, put all into disorder, dispersed Families asunder, parted nearest Relations, forced people from their *Houses*, and Ministers out of their *Churches*; necessitated him to fly for his own safety and preservation, (as *Elijah* persecuted by *Ahab*) being sent for by a party of Horse, under the command of Sir *William Waller*, to bring him Prisoner to *Portsmouth*; he fairly escaped their hands, but continually disturbed with new Alarms of *Drums* and *Trumpets* sounding about him; he could find no other way of safety like going to *Oxford*, there to take Sanctuary with his Brethren the persecuted Clergy, who in the words of the Historian, *Adversum fortuita aspectu principis Tacit. Hist. refoveri*, were only comforted with the lib. 15. sight of their Prince in the sad time of their Crosses and Adversities.

The news of his flying to *Oxford* LXX.
quickly

quickly took Wings to the old *Committee* in *London*, who forthwith voted him a Delinquent, and sent down an Order for Sequestration of all his *Goods* and *Chattels*. And first they fetcht away his *Library*, (for they thought he was too great a *Scholar*) the plunder of which he took deeply to heart, and ever accounted it the *greatest* of his *Losses*: For nothing is dearer to a good *Scholar* than Books, that to part with them, goes as much against his *Nature* and *Genius*, as to lose his *Life*; for he spendeth his days wholly in them, and thinketh that a horrible night of *Ignorance*, worse than *Egyptian* darkness would overshadow the *World* without their *Learning*. *Omnia jacerent in tenebris*, saith *Cicero*, *nisi literarum lumen accenderet*. Yet neither had he suffered the loss of his *Library* nor *household Goods* so suddenly as he did, but for *Collonel Norton* his Neighbour, a Gentleman of the *Parliament party*; by whose Command, his *Souldiers* seised on all that he had in *Alresford* for the use of the *Parliament*, (as they pretended) but sold as they passed along to any *Chapman* at inconsiderable rates, *Robin Hood's* penny-worths,

worths, what they had a mind to; some of which Goods, his honest Neighbours bought on purpose to restore them again to him, except the best of his Hangings, Beds and other costly Furniture, which with his Plate, Coll. Norton took to his own use, as the Doctor was informed. His Books carried away to *Portsmouth*; many of them were sold by the way, as Folio's for a Flagon of Ale a piece, which some of his good Parliament Soldiers bought of the Soldiers, that the right Owner might come to them again. The Carters, and such Fellows, as were employed in the carriage of his Library and household Goods, were payed off in Books instead of Money; for the Parliament Soldiers loved that, as they hated *Learning*: Yet notwithstanding the Books were so embezell'd and wasted by them, they were appraised at near a *thousand Pound*, and put into a publick Library, from whence they could never be redeemed.

After the loss of them, those *Sabeans* LXXI, drove away his Goods and Chattels; they seiz'd upon his Corn and Hay, for immediately by order of the Committee, the Tyths of both his Livings were

were sequestred and the profits of his Prebendary in *Westminster*, and what temporal Estate he had within their reach, taken from him that being asked by one of his acquaintance, how he lived? He answered him readily. By *Horse-Flesh and old Leather*; which seeming a Riddle, he explained afterward his meaning. That he saved only his Coach and Horses which brought him to *Oxford*, which he was forc'd to sell, and live upon the Mony. But that being spent—*Non ætherea vescitur aura*, as the Poet said he could not live like a Camelion upon the Air, he must find out some way of *subsistence* for himself and Family. And that was first of all to live upon *Credit* which seldom holdeth long, without an Estate to support it; and afterward upon the *Charity* of Freinds, which is shorter liv'd for the heat of that Love, soon groweth cold, being put to hard straits, that he never knew before. *Indocilis pauperiem pati*, he must now learn a new Lesson how to shift in the world for a mere Livelihood. And more miserable he was that having been Master of a plentiful and noble Estate 800 l. per An-

num

in ecclesiastical Preferments, as he tells us *himself*, besides his ~~own~~ temporal Estate the Wheel of fortune should bring such a sudden alteration to turn him down from the Top of her to the bottom, as to be in so low and poor a condition, that he might justly complain of her, with the man in the Tragedy.

Extran.
Simplicius p.
16.

Senec. in
Off. Trag.

*Quid me patens fortuna, fallaci mihi
Blandita vultu, sorte contentum mea
Alte extulisti! gravius ut ruerem.*

May be englished thus,
Why powerful Fortune? Dost thou
(frown and smile,
With thy deceitful looks, me to beguile
Of my content, thou sets me up on high
To throw me down in deeper misery.

Yet now he is but in the beginning of his misfortunes, and he hath a long race to run thorough them with Patience, not being able to maintain himself, and Family in Oxford, he sent his Wife to London; to get what money she could amongst her nearest Friends and Relations, himself went out of Oxford An. Dom. 1645. walking as a poor Traveller.

Enoch. Act.

2. Sc. 3.

Traveller in the Country not knowing well, whether he should goe, *Ego her-
ele nescio, quorsum eam: Ita prorsum ob-
litus sum mei. Quo me miser conferam.*
Disguised both in his Name, and Habit,
he sometimes went under the name of
Barker, at other times took the name
of *Harding* by which he was well known
among his Freinds, and not discovered
by his Enemies; his Habit changed
from a *Priest* to a *Lay-man*, and in the
likeness usually of an honest Country-
man, or else of a poor decayed Gen-
tleman, as indeed he was. The peril
of the times made him such a *Protestant*
in his *Garb*, because the Parliament
was resolved, if they could take him,
that he should follow his good Lord
of *Canterbury* to another World, than
that described in his *Cosmography*;
but he happily outlived most of them,
and died in Honour, which they did
not. He wandred like a *Jew*, with
a *Groat* in his Purse, and sometimes
without it, till he got to some good
Freinds House.

At his first setting out he was be-
trayed by a zealous she-Puritan, one
LXXIII Mrs. *Munday* at her House in Oxford-
shire

shire; her Husband was a true hearted
Cavaleir, unto whose protection he com-
 mitted himself: He being one day gone
 from home; she Saint-like, unfaithful
 to her Husband and his Freind, sent
 Intelligence to some *Parliament* Soldiers,
 that there was a *Cavaleir* Doctor in her
 House; of which he had notice given
 him by two of her Husbands Sisters,
 who hated her pure qualities; that as
 soon as the Family was all in Bed, he
 went out at a *back door*, down a pair of
 Garden-stairs, from whence he took
 his March that Night, *Factum est periculum*
jam Pedum visa est via, (as *Phormio* said)
 made what haste he could; and by the
 help of God Almighty and the good
 Stars; he got safely to another Friends
 house by morning; at which time the
 Soldiers beset Mrs. *Mundays* house, as
 the Country men did the Mountain;
 but the *Cathedral Rat* (as they then
 called him, and the dignified Clergy)
 was run away, that Mrs. *Mundays* Plot
 with the Soldiers proved a silly Fable.
 Ever after, the Doctor observed it for
 a Rule, never to come within the doors
 of a *Holy Sister*, whose house may be
 compared to that which *Solomon* descri-
 beth,

heth, Is the way to Hell, going down to the Chambers of Death; that had not Divine Providence protected him from the treachery of that base Woman, he had fallen into the hands of those *Nimrods*, that hunted after his Life. From place to place he shifted, like the old Travels of the *Patriarchs*; and in pity to his necessity, found a hearty entertainment amongst his Friends of the Royal Party, at whose Tables he was fed, for he had none of his own. His Children disposed of into several Friends hands; his Wife among her Relations; himself depending upon the courtesie both of Friends and Strangers till he grew weary, and tired out with this kind of Life, for *Vilis est Amicorum annona*.

LXXIV.

It pleased God afterward to send him some supplies of Money, that he settled himself, Wife and eldest Daughter at *Winchester*, in the house of a right honest man, one Mr. *Lizard*, with whom they Tabled a good while, where he had a comfortable time of *breathing* and rest after his former troubles, and to his hearts delight, the sweet enjoyment and conversation with *Loyal Persons*; for *Winchester* was then a strong Garrison for

for the King; and being near *Alresford*, he would go sometimes in disguise to visit his old *Neighbours*, whom he knew were true and faithful to him. But those *Halcion* days quickly vanished; as seldom Prosperity continues so long a time as Adversity; for that Town and Castle especially, which was thought invincible, to be taken by force of Arms were most treacherously delivered up to their Enemies in three days time: And now every house full of *Soldiers* quartered amongst them. Poor Dr. *Heylyn* was in more danger than ever, had not Mr. *Lizard* took care of him as his dearest Guest, and hid him in a private Room (as Providence ordained) to save his Life; which Room was supposed to have been made formerly for the hiding of Seminary Priests and Jesuits, because the house heretofore belonged to a *Papist Family*; and indeed it was so cunningly contrived, that there was no Door to be seen, nor entring into it, but behind an old *Beds-head*; and if the Bed had not been there, the Door was so neatly made like the other Wainscot of the Chamber, that it was impossible for a Stranger to find it out:

P

In

In which Room, instead of a Papist, a right *Protestant Doctor*, who was a professed Enemy both to Popery and Puritanism, was now secured from the rage and violence of the Soldiers, who sought after him with no less eagerness, than if he had been a Heretick followed by the *Spanish Inquisition*, when he good man, was in the very next Room to them, adjoining to the Dining-Chamber, where he could hear all their railery and mirth; their Gaming at Cards and Dice; for those idle *Lurdains* spent their time only in riot and pleasure at home; and when they went abroad, they would tread the *Maze* near the Town. He took his opportunity on the Market day to put on his travelling Robes, with a long Staff in his hand, and so walked out of the Town confidently with the Country Crowd, bidding *adieu* to the *Conclave* or little Room, that he left for the next distressed Gentleman; in the mean while his Wife and Daughter he intrusted to Mr. *Lizard's* care, his faithful Friend.

LXXV. And now he must again seek his Fortune, which proved more kind to him than she did before; yet he met
with

with a hard *Adventure* not many Miles from *Winchester*, where some stragling Soldiers lighting on him, and catching hold of his hand, felt a *Ring* under his Glove, which through haste of his escape, he forgot to pul off; which no sooner discovered, but they roughly swore he was some *Run-away Cavaleir*: The *Ring* being hard to get off, the poor Doctor willingly helped them; in which time came galloping by some of the Parliaments Scouts, who said to their Fellow-Souldiers, *look to your selves, the Cavaliers are coming*; at which words being affrighted, they took that little Mony that was in his Pocket, and so rid away without further search; and he good man jog'd on to the next Friends house, with some *pieces of Gold* that he had hid in his *high Shoes*, which if the Rogues had not been so hastily frighted away, would have been undoubtedly found, and might have cost him his Life by further suspicions of him, as it did the poor Jews (though not in the same manner) at the Seige of *Jerusalem*, who flying from their *City* fell into a worse *Calamity*, by one of them swallowing Gold, hid it in his *Belly*, which

*Joseph. l. 6.
cap. 15.*

*Lysim. Nic.
can. p. 43.*

he was afterward seen to take out of his Dung when he *exonerated* himself; that caused the ripping up several of their *Bellies*, according to *Josephus*. Had the Doctor been then *apprehended* by the Soldiers, and sent up Prisoner to *London*; or could they have taken him at any time (he had Intelligence from a Friend in the House of Commons) that the Parliament designed to deprive him of his Life, in revenge of the punishment inflicted upon *Pryn*, who for his seditious Libels written against the King and Church, was sentenced not only to lose his Ears, but was stigmatiz'd also upon his left Cheek with the Letter S. to signifie he was a Schismatick. Whence *Cant.* the zealous Preacher at *Glasgow*, prayed to God after his Sermon to take away the Kings Idolatry, and said, that the dear Saints in England had their Nose and their Ears slit, for the profession of the Gospel. The Parliament then might pretend the revenge of Mr. *Pryns* sufferings, by a retaliation of a worse punishment upon Dr. *Heylyn*; but the real cause that exasperated them, was the good Doctors Loyalty to his King, and fidelity to his Arch-Bishop, the two great

great Pillars of the Church, to whom all true Sons of the Church of *England* ought to be faithful. And finally the many Books the Doctor had written, and still likely to write more against the Puritan Faction, was the grand cause of all his flights and sufferings in the time of War.

*Est fuga dicta mihi, non est fuga dicta Li- Ovid.
bellis.*

Qui Domini penam non meruere sui.

Though I am forc'd to fly, my Books
they are not fled,
No reason for my sake, they should be
punished.

At what Friends house he was now LXXVI.
secured from danger, though I have
heard it named, indeed I have forgot;
but from thence he travelled to Doctor
Kingsmil, a *Loyal Person* of great worth,
and ancient Family, where he continu-
ed, and sent for his Wife and Daugh-
ter from *Winchester* to him; and from
thence removed to *Minster-Lovel*, (in
Oxfordshire) the pleasant Seat of his
elder Brother, in the year *An. Dom.*

1648. which he farmed of his Nephew Collonel *Heylyn* for six years. Being deprived of his *Ecclesiastical* Preferments, he must think of some honest way for a Livelibood.

Alb. Titul.

— *Fruges lustramus & agros*
Ritus ut a prisco traditus extat aeo.

LXXVII.

Yet notwithstanding he followed his studies, which was his chief delight; for though the *usurped Powers* had silenced his *Tongue* from preaching, they could not withhold his *Pen* from writing, and that in an acute, and as sharp a stile as formerly, after he had done with his frequent visits of Friends, and long *perambulations*. For the publick good of the Church, to uphold her ancient maintenance by *Tithes*, being rob'd then of all her other dues and *dignities*, though himself was sequestred of both his Livings, and made incapable of receiving any benefit by *Tithes*; yet for the common cause of Christianity, and in mere compassion of the *Presbyterian Clergy*, (though his profest Enemies) he published at that time (when *Tithes* were in danger to be taken away from them) an excellent little Tract, to undeceive the

the People in the point of Tithes ; and proveth therein, That no man in the *Realm of England*, payeth any thing of his *own* toward the *maintenance* of his *Parish Minister* but his *Easter Offerings*.

At the same time, he enlarged his LXXVIII.
Book of *Geography* into a large *Folio*, which was before but a little *Quarto*, and intituled it with the name of *Cosmography* ; of which it may be truly said, it does contain a *world* of Learning in it, as well as the Description of the World ; and particularly sheweth the Authors most excellent Abilities, not only in History, and smoothness of its style, that maketh the whole Book delightful to the Reader ; but in *Chronology*, *Genealogy*, and *Heraldry* ; in which last any one may see, that he could *blazon* the Arms, and describe the Descent and Pedigree of the greatest Families in *Europe*. In which pleasing study while he spent his time, his good Wife, a discreet and active Lady ; looked both after her *Houswifery* within doors, and the Husbandry without ; thereby freeing him from that care and trouble, which otherwise would have hindered his laborious *Pen* from going
P 4 through

through so great a work in so short a time. And yet he had several *divertisements* by company, which continually resorted to his House; for having (God be thanked) his Temporal Estate cleared from *Sequestration*, by his Composition with the Commissioners at *Gold-Smiths Hall*, and this Estate which he farmed besides, he was able to keep a good house, and relieve his *poor Brethren*, as himself had found relief from others Charity; that his House was the Sanctuary of *sequestred* men turned out of their *Living*s, and of several ejected Fellows out of *Oxford*; more particularly of some worthy persons I can name, as Dr. *Allibone*, Mr. *Levit*, Mr. *Thornton*, Mr. *Ashwel*, who wrote upon the Creed, who would stay for two or three Months at his House, or any other Acquaintance that were suffering men, he cheerfully received them, and with a hearty welcom they might tarry as long as they pleased. The Doctor himself modestly speaks of his own Hospitality; how many (that

observ. rescued. p. 51. were not Domesticks, *had eaten of his Bread and drunk of his Cup.*

LXXIX. A Vertue highly to be praised, and most

most worthy of commendation in it self; for which Tacitus giveth this Character of the old Germanes, *Convictibus & Hospitiis, non alia gens Effusus indulget.* Tacit. lib. de mor. Ger. Greater Hospitality saith he, and Entertainment, *no Nation shewed more bountifully, accounting it as a cursed thing, not to be civil in that kind according to every mans ability; and when all was spent, the good Master of the House would lead his Guest to the next Neighbours House, where he, though not invited, was made welcome with the like courtesie.* Among others kindly entertained, Mr. Marchamont Needham, then a zealous Loyalist, and Scourge to the Rump Parliament, was sheltered in the Doctors House, (being violently pursued) till the Storm was over; the good Doctor then, as his Tutelar Angel, preserved him in a high Room, where he continued writing his weekly *Pragmaticus*; yet he afterward, like Balaam the Son of Beor, hired with the wages of Unrighteousness, corrupted with mercenary Gifts and Bribes, became the only *Apostate* of the Nation, and writ a Book for the pretended Common-wealth, or rather I may say, a *base Democracy*, for which the

the Doctor could never after endure the mention of his name, who had so disoblighd his Country and the Royal Party, by his shameful *Tergiversation*.

LXXX.

The good Doctors Charity did not only extend it self to ancient *Friends* and Acquaintance, but to mere Strangers, by whom he had like to run himself into a Premunire: For word being carried to him in his Study, there was a Gentleman at the door, who said he was a *Commander* in the Kings Army, and earnestly desired some relief and *harbour*; the Doctor presently went to him, and finding by his Discourse and other Circumstances, what he said was true, received him into his House, and made him very welcom: the Gentleman was a Scotch Captain, who having a Scotch Diurnal in his Pocket, they read it, fearing no harm thereby, but it proved otherwise; for one of the Doctors Servants listning at the door, went straight way to *Oxford*, and informed the Governour Collonel *Kelsey*, that his Master had received Letters from the King; whereupon the Governour sent a Party of Horse to fetch him away.

away. Strange News it was, knowing his own *Innocency*, to hear that Soldiers had beset his House so early in the Morning, before he was out of Bed; But go he must to appear before the Governour; and when he came, that *treacherous* Rogue his Man did confidently affirm, that he heard the Letters read, and was sure he could remember the very words, if his Master would produce the Letters: Upon which the Doctor relates the whole story to the Governour, and withal shews the Diurnal, which the Governour read to the Fellow, often asking him, *is this right? Is this the same you heard?* To whom he answered, *Yes Sir, yes; that is the very thing, and those words I remember:* Upon which, the Governour caused him to be soundly whipt, instead of giving him a reward for his Intelligence; and dismissed the Doctor, with some Complements, ordering the same Party of Horse that fetcht him, to wait upon him home.

Being thus delivered from the *treachery* LXXXI, of his Servant, his great care was to provide one more faithful; which the good Lady *Wainman*, his Neighbour hearing

Tacit. Hist.
ib. 4.

hearing of, commended to him one of her own Servants, whom Sr. Francis her Husband had bred up from a Child, whose fidelity he need not fear in the Worst of times, when a Mans enemies may be of his own Household, as *Q. Vibius Serenus* was betrayed by his own Son, *Reus pater, accusator filius, idem Judex et Testis* saith the Historian, the Son was both Acuser, Judge, and witness against his Father.

LXXXII.

After he had lived many years in *Minster-Lovel*, he removed from thence to *Abingdon*, where he bought a House called *Lacies-Court*, of which he bestowed much cost in repairing and building some Additions to it, particularly of a little *Oratory*, or Chappel, which about the Altar was adorned with Silk Hangings, the other part of the Room plain, but kept very decent, wherein himself and his Family went to prayers; most Rooms of his house were well furnished, and the best Furniture in them, as in the *Dining-Chamber*, and next Room to it, were saved by his good Neighbours at *Alresford*, who were so far from thinking, (except some malicious persons among them) that they should

should never fix eye on him more unless they took a journey (which I hate to mention) to a *Gaol* or a *Gallowes* that they questioned not his return again to *Alsford*, and the enjoyment of his plundered goods. This house in *Abingdon* he purchased for the pleasantness of its situation, standing next the Feilds, and not distant *five Miles* from *Oxford*, where he might be furnished with Books at his *pleasure*, either from the *Book-Sellers* Shops, or the *Bodleian-Library*, particularly he was beholden to his Reverend and Learned Friend Doctor *Barlow*, now Lord-Bishop of *Lincoln* who sometimes accommodated him with choice Bookes, of whom I have heard the Doctor say, if the *Times* ever altered, *he was* confident, that man of learning would be made a *Bishop*, which indeed is now come to pass. Such a fresh appetite to Study and Writing, he still retained in his old Age, that he would give his mind no time of *vacancy* and intermission from those Labours, in which he was before continually exercised, tis said of *Julius Caesar Scaliger* an indefatigable Student as his Son Writes of him. *Nullum tempus a Studiis*

Literarum

*Ju. Scalig.
Epist. de
Vetus. et
Splend.
Gent. Scal.
p. 47.*

Literarum et lucubrationibus relinquebat, but he was then forty years of Age before he began the course of his Studies, having spent his former dayes in the *Camp of Mars* and not of the *Muses*: The Doctor from a Child devoted his whole Life to painful Study, not allowing himself ease in the worst of times, and in the midst of his troubles.

LXXXIII.

For at the time of his sad Pilgrimage when he was forced to wander and take *Sanctuary* at any Freinds House, his thoughts were not *extravagant*, but studiously intent upon these matters, which he digested afterward into Form, and Use, when he came to a settled condition. And in the beginning of his troubles, being under the displeasure of the House of Commons, on the complaint of Mr. *Pryn*, when his Enemies took the advantage some to Libel and others to write against him, particularly Doctor *Hackwel* (before mentioned) at such an unreasonable time, with whom Doctor *Heylyn* saith he would *not refuse* an encounter upon any Argument, *either at the sharp or at the Smooth*, afterward when Monarchy and Episcopacy was troden under

Appendix in
Advert. p.
30.

der foot, then did he stand up a Champion in defence of both, and feared not to publish, the stumbling Block of Disobedience, and his *Certamen Epistolare*; in which Mr. Baxter fled the Field, because there was *impar congressus* betwixt him, and (as I may say) an old Soldier of the Kings, who had been used to fiercer Combats with more famous *Goliaths*. Also Mr. Thomas Fuller was sufficiently chastised by the Doctor for his Church History, as he deserved a most sharp correction, because he had been a Son of the Church of England in the time of her prosperity, and now *deserted* her in her adverse Fortune, and took to the Adversaries side: And it was then my hap, having some business with Mr. Taylor my fellow Collegian in Lincoln-Colledge, then Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper, Mr. Nathaniel Fines, to see Mr. Fuller make a fawning address to my Lord with his great Book of Church History, hugged under his Arm, which he presented to the Keeper after an uncouth manner, as Horace describeth

— *Sub ala fasciculum portas librorum
ut rusticus agnum.* The many falsities,
defects and *mistakes* of that Book, the
Doctor

Hor. Epi
13.

Doctor discovered and refuted; of which Mr. *Fuller* afterward being *ingeniously* ashamed, came to the Doctors House in *Abington*; were he made his Peace, both became very good *Friends*, and between them for the future was kept an inviolable bond of Friendship.

LXXXIV. In the Year 1656. the Doctor printed some observations upon the History of the Reign of King *Charles*, published by *H. L. Esq:* with whom the Doctor dealt *very* candidly, and modestly corrected some of his mistakes in most mild and amicable terms, telling him, *viz.*

Epistle dedicatory.

‘Between us both the History will be
 ‘made more perfect, and consequently
 ‘the Reader will be better satisfied,
 ‘which makes me somewhat confident,
 ‘that these few *Notes* will be so far from
 ‘making your History less vendible then
 ‘it was before, that they will very much
 ‘advantage and promote *the Sale*: And
 ‘if I can do good to all, without wrong
 ‘to any, I hope no man can be offend-
 ‘ed with my pains and Industry, In
 answer to which Mr. *Hammond* L^r E-
strange led by his passion, and not by
 reason, fell upon the Doctor in such un-
 civil

civil words, unbecoming a Gentleman that as the Doctor saith, he never was accustomed to such *Billings-gate* Language: There was indeed a time (saith 'he) when my name was almost in 'every *Libel*, which exercised the Pati-^{Extran.Va- pulans. E- pistle to the Reader} 'ence of the State for seven years to- 'gether, and yet I dare confidently say, 'that all of them together, did not vomit 'so much filth upon me, as hath pro- 'ceeded from the Mouth of the *Pam- 'phlet*, whom I have in hand. There- fore the Doctor returned a quick and sharp reply to him in his Book, En- titled *Extraneus Vapulans*, wherein with admired Wit and Eloquence he gave Mr. L' *Estrange* a most severe, yet civil correction. His Brother Mr. Roger L' *Estrange* a most Loyal Gentleman, hath since made amends for his Brothers Faults, by his good service done both to Church and State.

The next Book which the Doctor published, *An. Dom. 1657. Ecclesia Vindicata*, or the Church of *England* justified, he dedicated it, (as a grateful Testimony of his mind) to his Master then living, Mr. *Edward Davis*; formerly School-Master of *Burford*, and now Vi-

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car

car of *Shelton* in the County of *Berks*, to whom he ever shewed a Love and Reverence : and had the Doctors Power been answerable to his will and intention, he had design'd more considerable *Preferments* for him, but the sudden and unexpected alteration in his own *affairs* prevented, (so soon almost as he was preferred) that he could shew no other *Specimen* of his gratitude. What saith the Heathen? *Diis parentibus & Preceptoribus non redditur æquivalens.* An amends can never be made to God, our Parents and Tutors ; and certainly he hath but little of a Christian in him that can forget this Lesson.

LXXXVI.

About the sametime he was harassed before *Olivers* Major General for the *Decimation* of his Estate, *hoc novum est aucupium* : For he thought there had been an end of all further *payments*, and punishment for his Loyalty, by compounding for his Estate in *Goldsmiths-Hall*, that he argued the Case notably with them, but all in vain, for Arguments though never so *acutely* handled, are obtuse Weapons against the Edge of the Sword. He tells us that his temporal Estate was first brought

'brought under Sequestration, and un-observ.
 'der a Décimation since, only for his resc. P. 50;
 'adhesion to those sacred Verities to
 'which he hath been principled by E-
 'ducation, and confirmed by Study.
 While he was arguing his cause before
 the Major General and his Captains,
 one Captain *Allen* formerly a Tinker,
 and his Wife a poor Tripe-Wife, took
 upon him to reprove the Doctor for
 maintaining his Wife so highly, like a
 Lady; to whom the Doctor roundly re-
 plied; That he had *married a Gentle-*
woman, and did maintain her accor-
ding to her quality; and so might he
his Tripe-wife: Adding withal, that
 this Rule he always observed, *For his*
Wife to go above his Estate; his Chil-
dren according to his Estate, and himself
below his Estate; so that at the years
end he could make all even. Soon after
 these things, came out the Order of
Décimation against him; a Heathenish
 Cruelty in this Case; if Mens Estates
 are as dear to them as their Lives, (be-
 cause the one without the other renders
 them miserable) may be compared to that
 of *Maximian*, the Tyrant and cruel
 Persecutor of the Church, that put the

Christians to such a bloody Decimation, that every tenth man of them was to be killed : And this other was *barbarous* enough in its kind, that all the Gentry of the Nation, (not only the *tenth* part of them) who had engaged in his Majesties Service ; should first be compelled to compound for their own Estates, and afterward without mercy *Decimated* ; that brought an utter ruin upon many of their Families.

XXXVII Notwithstanding all this, the Doctor like the Palm-Tree, *crescit sub pondere virtus*, the more he was pressed with their heavy loads, did flourish and grow up in his Estate ; that through the blessing of God, being neither the *Subject* of any mans Envy, nor the *Object* of their Pity ; he lived in good Credit, and kept a noble House ; for I my self being often there, can say, I have seldom seen him sit down at his Table without company ; for being nigh the University, some out of a desire to be acquainted with him, and others to visit their old Friend, whom they knew *rarely* could be seen but at Meals, made choice of that time to converse with him : And likewise his good *Neighbours*

at

at *Abingdon*, whom he always made welcom, if they were honest men, that had been of the *Royal party*, and was ready to assist them upon all occasions; particularly in upholding the Church of *St. Nicholas*, which otherwise had been pulled down, on pretence of uniting it to *St. Ellens*; but in truth, to disable the sober party of the Town, who were loyal people, from enjoying their wonted Service and Worship of God in their own Parish Church, of which they had a Reverend and Orthodox man; one Mr. *Huish*, their Minister; and in his absence, the Doctor took care to get them supplied with able men from *Oxford*. Great endeavours were on both sides; the one party to preserve the Church, and the other to pull it down, because it was thronged with *Malignants*, who seduced others from their godly way: Religion always hath been the pretence of factious minds, to draw on others to their party, as one saith well, *Sua quisq; arma sancta predicat, suam causam Religiosam, Deus, Pietas, cultus divinus pretextantur*. Every one proclaimeth their own Quarrels to be a holy War; the cause

Ubbo.
4. His. Fris.

Religion, God, Godliness, and Divine Worship must be pretended.

LXXXVIII Several Journies the good Doctor took to London, sparing neither his *pains* nor *purse*, in so pious a cause; for the managing of which, he employed diverse *Solicitors*; sometimes before *Committees*, at other times before *Oliver's Council*, where it was carried dubiously, and rather inclining to the other side; at which the Presbyterian party caused the *Bells* to be rung, and made *Bonfires* in the Town, to express their Joy, triumphing in the Ruin of a poor Church; but the day was not so clearly their own as they imagined, *Dum res quamvis afflicta, nondum tamen perditæ forent*, as the Orator said; for the Church yet stood against all its Enemies, God protecting his own *House*, and his zealous Servants for it, in a time when they could look for little favours from the Powers that then ruled, who had not so much respect for Gods *House*, as the Heathens had for their *Idol Temples*, and for those that vindicated them, as *Justin* saith on this occasion. *Diis prædictis mus habetur per quem Decorum majestas vindicata sit.* For which he praiseth
Philip

Justin. l. 8.

Philip of Macedon, calling him, Vindicem Sacrilegii, ultorem Religionum, &c.

During those troubles about the Church, Mr. Huiſh the Miniſter thereof, durſt not go on in his miniſterial Duties, which no ſooner the Doctor heard of, but to animate and encourage him, he writ a pious Letter; a Copy of which I then tranſcribed, which is as followeth, and worth the inserting here.

Sir,

WE are much beholden to you for LXXXIX.
your chearful conſcending unto our deſires, ſo far as the Lords-days Service, which though it be *Opus diei in die ſuo*, yet we cannot think our ſelves to be fully Maſters of our Requeſts, till you have yeilded to beſtow your pains on the other days alſo. We hope in reaſonable time to alter the condition of Mr. Blackwels pious gift, that without hazarding the loſs of his donation, which would be an irrecoverable blow to this poor Pariſh, you may ſue out your *Qietus eſt* from that daily Attendance, unleſs you find ſome further motives. and inducements to perſwade you to it; yet ſo to alter it, that there ſhall be no greater wrong done to his

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Intentions, than to most part of the Founders in each University, by changing Prayers for the Souls, first by them intended, into a commemoration of their bounties, as was practised. All dispositions of this kind must vary with their changes which befall the Church, or else be alienated and estranged to other purposes. I know it must needs be some discouragement to you to read to Walls, or to pray in publick with so thin a company, as hardly will amount to a Congregation; but withal I desire you to consider, that magis & minus, as Logicians say, do not change the species of things; that quantities of themselves are of little efficacy, (if at all of any) and that he who promised to be in the midst of two or three when they meet together in his Name, hath clearly shewed, that even the smallest Congregations shall not want his presence; and why then should we think much to bestow our pains where he vouchsafeth his presence, or think our labour ill bestowed, if some few only do partake of the present benefit? And yet no doubt the benefit extends to more than the Parties present; for you know well that the Priest or Minister, is not only to pray with, but for the People; that he is not only to offer up the Peoples Prayers

to Almighty God, but to offer up his own Prayers for them; the benefit whereof may charitably be presumed to extend to, as well as it was intended for, the absent also. And if a whole Nation may be represented in a Parliament of four hundred persons, and they derive the blessings of peace and comfort upon all the Land, why may we not conceive, that God will look on three or four of this little Parish, as the representation of the whole, and for their sakes, extend his Grace and Blessing unto all the rest; that he who would have saved that sinful City of Sodom, had he found but ten righteous persons in it, may not vouchsafe to bless a less sinful people upon the Prayers of a like or less number of pious and religious persons. When the High Priest went into the Sanctum Sanctorum to make attonement for the Sins of the People, went he not thither by himself? None of the people being suffered to enter into that place. Do not we read, that when Zacharias offered up Incense, which figured the Prayers of the Saints, within the Temple, the people waited all that while in the outward Courts; or find we any where, that the Priest who offered up

up the daily Sacrifice, and this comes nearest to our Case, did ever intermit that Office by reason of the slackness and indolence of the people in repairing to it: But you will say, there is a Lyon in the way, there is danger in it. Assuredly I hope none at all, or if any, none that you would care for. The Sword of the Committee had as sharp an edge, and was managed with as strong a malice, as any Ordinance of a late date can empower men with. Having so fortunately escaped the danger of that, why should you think of any thing, but despising this, as Tully did unto Mark, Antony. *Catilinae gladios contempsi, non timebo tuos.* Why may you not conclude with David in the like sense and apprehensions of Gods preservation, that he who saved him from the Bear and from the Lyon, would also save him from the Sword of that railing Philistine: And you may see that the Divine Providence is still awake over that poor remnant of the regular and orthodox Clergy, which have not yet bowed their knees to the Golden Calves of late erected; by putting so unexpectedly a Hook into the Nostrils of those Leviathans which threatned with an open mouth to devour them all: I will not say as Cle-

mens

mens of Alexandria did in Case much like that, it is ~~indeed~~ to indulge too much to apprehension of this nature, in matters which relate to Gods publick Service: All I shall add, is briefly thus, that having presented you with these considerations, I shall with greediness expect the sounding of the Bell to morrow morning, and in the mean time make my prayers to Almighty God, to direct you in this business, as may be most for his glory, your own particular comfort, and the good of this people, with which expressions of my Soul, I subscribe my self,

Your most affectionate Friend
and Brother in Christ Jesus
Peter Heylyn.

After this good Letter, Mr. Huish XC.
went on in his Prayers as formerly, and this little Church withstood all the batteries and fierce assaults of its Enemies, who were never able to demolish it, or unite it to St. Ellens, so well had the Doctor managed the business for the publick good and the benefit of the Parish; for as to his own particular, he might have spared that pains and charge, having (as we said before) a Chappel
in

in his own house, where he constantly used the Common-prayer for his Family devotions, being no lover of other Forms, much less of extemporary Effusions, for the impertinencies, tautologies, and irreverent expressions that usually attends them, though such Prayers are most admired by the Vulgar, because some of them think themselves excellently gifted that way; as the Doctor tells us a story of a Puritan Tradesman; *Meeting one time (saith he) by chance, my old Chamber-fellow Mr. L. D. at Dinner, my Chamber-fellow being the only Scholar in the company, was requested to say Grace, which he did accordingly; and having done, the Tradesman lifting up both his Hands and Whites to Heaven, calls upon the company saying, dearly beloved Brethren, let us praise God better; and thereupon began a long extempore Grace of his own conceiving.*

Dr. Heylyn's
Discourse
touching
the Form
of Prayer.
p. 161.

But to return again, As he had a respect to the Cause of the Church, so he was careful of his own concern, to answer Dr. Bernard, an Irish Dean, but now Chaplain to Oliver, one of his Almoners, and a Preacher in Grays-Inn, who had put forth a Book entitled *The Judgement of the late Primate*
of

of Ireland; &c. in reply to which, the Doctor published, *Respondet Petrus*, and an Appendix in answer to certain passages of H. L' Est. History of the Reign of King Charles: In the one, he treateth learnedly about the Sabbath: the other relating to the Lord Primate, the Articles of the Church of Ireland; and the Earl of Strafford; to neither of which his Adversaries could make a Reply; but instead thereof, Dr. Bernard endeavoured to procure an Order from *Olivers* Privy-Council, to burn the Book, which caused a common report, that Dr. Heylyn's Book of the Sabbath, was publickly burnt; but according to the old saying, *Fama est mendax*, for the Book never saw the Fire, nor any Answer to it; and if it had been martyr'd in the Fire, it would have proved more for the Author's credit than disgrace, as Tacitus tells us in the like Case of *Cremutius Cordus*, whose Book was decreed by the Senate to be burnt, *punitis Ingeniis* (saith he) *gliscit authoritas*, when good Wits are punished, their credit groweth greater.

Tac. An l. 4.

An ordinary Scandal hath been
thrown

Apend. to
the Adv.

thrown upon learned men, who have been zealous Defenders of the Church of England, to brand them with the ignominious name of Papists, or being Popishly affected, because they have *abhorred* the other extreme of Puritanism, in which kind of Slanders the Doctor hath sufficiently received his share; that *Hammond L. Estrange* called him, *An Agent for the Sea of Rome*. A heavy charge this is, if it carried the least semblance of Truth; but what honest man may not be so belyed: *Si accusare suffecerit, quis innocens erit?* When the Doctor in all his Writings, (and no man I may say more) hath declared his judgement against the Church of Rome; and upon every occasion, as he meets with her, *whets* his Pen most sharply, to lance her old sores, and and let the World see what filthy corruptions and errors abound in her; more particularly in his Book of Books, *Theologia Veterum* upon the Apostles Creed, the Sum of Christian Theology; positive, polemical, and philological; and in all his Court Sermons upon the Tares, especially the fourth

fourth Sermon; also in his great *Cosmography*, where he sets out the Popes of Rome in their pontifical Colours: Therefore for the Vindication of him from this foul *aspersion*, with which some have maliciously bespattered many of our excellent Divines; I particularly thank the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Stillingsfleet* for his Answer to T. G. who would have made use of the Puritans accusation for the Papists purpose; but the worthy Doctor quickly *refuted* him, and ever after put him to silence, in citing Dr. *Heylyns* fourth Sermon upon the *Tares*, where he lays at the Door of Papists, the most gross Idolatry, greater than which, was never known among the Gentiles. This being brought into discourse at such time as the Arch-Bishops Book against *Fisher* the Jesuit was newly published, it was affirmed by some, that the Doctor in his Sermon had pulled up Popery by the Roots, yet one of the Company most maliciously replied thereunto: 'That the Arch-Bishop might print, and the Doctor might preach what they pleased against Po-

Arch-Bish.
Life p. 359.

'Popery, but that he should never think
 'them, or either of them to be the
 'less Papists for all that. A Censure of
 so strange a nature, (saith the Doctor
 himself) that he believed it is not
 easie to be parallel'd in the worst of
 times. But what need is there of
 producing Sermons or other Testimo-
 nies in his behalf, when his general
 Conversation, more severe than or-
 dinary, fully attested, that as he was
 a strict Observer of all the Rites and
 Orders of the Church of *England*,
 so a perfect *Abhorrer* of Popery and
 Roman Superstitions, that he would
 not so much as hold corresponden-
 cy with a Papist, or with one so re-
 puted; as I can instance an Example
 of one Mr. *Hood* whose Family and
 the Doctors were very kind, when
 he lived at *Minster*, being near Neigh-
 bours; but the Gentleman afterward
 changing his Religion, and turning
 Papist, came to *Abington*, to give
 him a Visit in his new House; the
 Doctor sent his Man Mr. *Gervis*,
 who was his Amanuensis, to bid the
 Gentleman be gone, and shut the Doors
 of him; saying, that he heard he was
 turn'd

turn'd Papist, for which he hated the sight of him, and so my Gentleman went away, never daring to give him another Visit. In which he followed the Example of his Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, that when *Con* was sent hither by the Pope to be assistant to the Queen in her Religion; 'the wise Bishop kept himself at such a distance with him, that neither *Con* nor *Panzani* before him, (who acted for a time in the same capacity) could fasten any acquaintance on him; nay, he neglected all intercessions in that Case, and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company and familiarity of *Con*.

Arch-Bish.
Life p. 386.

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THEOLOGO-HISTORICUS,

Or the True

Life & Death

O F T H E

Most Reverend DIVINE,

and Excellent HISTORIAN

PETER HERLYN D.D.

Sub-Dean of *Westminster*.

Written by his Son in Law *John Barnard* D.D.

Part. II.

BEATI MORTUI, *qui in Domino Moriuntur*
Apoc. Cap. 14. v. 13.

L O N D O N; Printed 1683.

THE HISTORY OF

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THE TRUE
LIFE and DEATH
OF THE

Most Reverend and Learned DIVINE

Dr. *PETER HEYLYN*.

Part. II.

LIKE a true Christian and obedient Son of the Church, the good Doctor did patiently undergo all the persecutions, reproaches, and clamorous speeches, both of Papists and Puritans; not regarding what the height of their *malice* could speak, or their virulent *Pens* could write against him; because he was able to defend himself. But that which drew all the *odium* and inveterate malice upon him, from the several *Factions* then prevalent, was his *Loyalty*, *Learning*, and

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Con-

Conscience, that he constantly asserted the Kings Prerogative, the Churches Rights, (not infringing the Peoples privileges,) in the defence of which he was continually employed untill his Majesties most happy Restauration, which was the longed hope and earnest desire of this poor distracted Nation. *Quia non aliud patriæ discordantis remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur,* As the Historian said, which cannot be Englished better than in the words of his Majesties late gracious declaration. That Religion, Liberty and property were all lost and gone, when the Monarchy was shaken of, and could never be reviv'd till that was restored. Therefore the Peoples Representative in Parliament, induced by necessity as well as duty, did unanimously vote, like the Elders of Judah, to bring home their Lord the King to his native Kingdom, of whose with'd return we did then all sing, as the Poet of *Augustus*.

Tacit. Ann.
lib. I.

Hor. car. I.
4. od. 5.

*Custos Gentis, abes iam nimium Diu
Maturum reditum pollicitus Patrum
Sancto Concilio
Lucem redde lux Dux bone, Patriæ*

Instar

*Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gravior it dies
Et Soles melius nitent.*

That is to say

Most Sovereign Guardian of this Nation

Thy absence all lament

Return to joy the expectation

Of thy whole Parliament

Good Prince, the Glory of our Land

Shine with thy Beams of Majesty.

Thy countenance like the Spring at hand

Cheers up thy People merrily.

Our days now more delightfully are spent

The Sun looks brighter in the Firma-

(ment.

And now the Sun *shone* more glori- XCII.

ously in our *Hemisphere* then ever;

the Tyrannical powers being dissolved,

as the historian said *Non Cynna, non*

Syllæ dominatio & Pompei Crassique poten-

tia in Cæsarem — The Kingdom ruled *Tacit. lib. i.*

by its own natural Prince, and only

lawful Sovereign; the Church restored

to her ancient *Rights*, and true Reli-

gion established among us; every man

sitting under his own *Vine* with joy,

who had been a good Subject and a

Sufferer; the Doctor was restored to

all his former preferments, of which he had been deprived for *Seventeen* years. After his re-entrance into his Prebendary of *Westminster*, he had the Honour to attend his Sacred Majesty at the time of his Coronation, in the Solemnity of which, according to his office and place, (as Subdean of the Church) he presented upon his knees the *Royal Scepter* unto his Majesty, in whose exile to the utmost of his power he had exercised his *Pen* in the defence both of the Crown, Scepter, and Miter, his Soul then transported with joy, that he should survive the usurped powers, and see with his old bad eyes, the King settled upon his Fathers Throne, and peace upon *Israel*. In the Evening after the Ceremonies of the Coronation were over, while the Ordinance was playing from the Tower, it happened to thunder violently, at which some persons who were at supper with him, seemed much affrighted. I very well remember an expression of his upon the same, according to the Poets word *Intonuit letus*, that the Ordinance of Heaven answered those of the Tower, rejoicing at the solemnity, with which
the

the Company being exceedingly pleased, there followed much Joy and Mirth.

Thus being settled in *Westminster*, he XCIV.
fell upon the old work of building again and repairing, which is the costly pleasure of Clergy men, for the next Generation; because building is like planting, the chief benefit of which accrues to their *Successors*, that live in another Age; as *Cicero* said of them who took delight in planting Oake-Trees, *Serunt Arbores, quæ profunt alteri sæculo*. He enlarged his *Prebends House*, by making some convenient Additions to it; particularly, he erected a new Dining Room, and beautified the other Rooms, all which he enjoyed but for a little time, of which he made the best use while he lived, to serve his God, and seek after the *Churches* good; in which work he was as industrious after his Majesties happy Restauration as he was before, to testifie his Religious zeal and care, that all things might run on in the old right *Channel*; for which reason, he writ a fervent *Letter* to a great States-man of that time, earnestly pressing him to advise the King, that a *Convocation* might be called with the present Parliament, which

which was a thing then under question;
his Letter is as followeth.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord;

I Cannot tell how welcom or unwelcom
‘this Address may prove, in regard
‘of the greatness of the Cause, and the
‘low Condition of the Party, who *negotiates*
‘in it: But I am apt enough to per-
‘swade my self, that the honest zeal
‘which moves me to it; not only will
‘excuse, but endear the boldness. There
‘is (my Lord) a general speech, but a
‘more general fear withal amongst some
‘of the Clergy, that there will be no
‘*Convocation* called with the following
‘Parliament; which if it should be so
‘resolved on, cannot but raise sad
‘thoughts in the hearts of those, who
‘wish the peace and happiness of this
‘our English *Sion*. But being Bishops
‘are excluded from their Votes in Par-
‘liament, there is no other way to keep
‘up their honour and esteem in the Eyes
‘of the People, than the retaining of
‘their places in *Convocation*: Nor
‘have the lower Clergy any other
‘means to shew their duty to the King,
‘and

‘ and keep that little freedom which is
‘ left unto them, than by assembling in
‘ in such meetings, where they may exer-
‘ cise the Power of a Convocation, in
‘ granting Subsidies to his Majesty,
‘ though in nothing else. And should
‘ that Power be taken from them, ac-
‘ cording to the constant (but unprece-
‘ dented) practice of the late long Par-
‘ liament; and that they must betaxed
‘ and rated with the rest of the Subjects
‘ without their liking and consent? I can-
‘ not see what will become of the first
‘ Article of *Magna Charta*, so solemnly,
‘ so frequently confirmed in Parliament;
‘ or what can possibly be left unto them
‘ of either the Rights or Liberties be-
‘ longing to an English Subject. I know
‘ it is conceived by some, that the distrust
‘ which his Majesty hath in some of the
‘ Clergy, and the diffidence which the
‘ Clergy have one of another, is looked
‘ on as the principle cause of the Inno-
‘ vation. - For I must needs behold it as
‘ an Innovation, that any Parliament
‘ should be called without a meeting of
‘ the Clergy at the same time with it.
‘ The first year of King *Edward* the Sixth,
‘ Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, were
‘ times

‘ times of greater diffidence and distracti-
‘ on than this present conjuncture :
‘ And yet no Parliament was called in
‘ the beginning of their severall Reigns
‘ without the company and attendance
‘ of a Convocation, though the intend-
‘ ments of the State aimed then at grea-
‘ ter Alterations in the face of the
‘ Church, than are now pretended or
‘ desired : And to say truth, there was no
‘ danger to be feared from a Convocation
‘ though the times were ticklish and un-
‘ settled, and the Clergy was divided in-
‘ to sides and Factions, as the Case then
‘ stood, and so stands with us at the pre-
‘ sent time. For since the Clergy in
‘ their Convocations are in no Authori-
‘ ty to propound, treat, or conclude any
‘ thing, (more than the passing of a
‘ Bill of Subsidies for his Majesties use)
‘ untill they are impowered by the Kings
‘ Commission. The King may tye them
‘ up for what time he pleaseth, and give
‘ them nothing but the opportunity of
‘ entertaining one another with the
‘ News of the Day. But if it be ob-
‘ jected, That the Commission now on
‘ foot for altering and explaining certain
‘ passages in the publick Liturgy, shall
‘ either

‘ either pass instead of a Convocation,
‘ or else is thought to be neither compe-
‘ table nor consistent with it ; I hope
‘ for better in the one, and must profess
‘ that I can see no reason in the other.
‘ For first, I hope, that the selecting of
‘ some few Bishops, and other learned
‘ men of the lower Clergy, to debate
‘ on certain points contained in the Com-
‘ mon-Prayer-Book, is not intended for
‘ a Representation of the Church of
‘ *England*, which is a Body more diffu-
‘ sed, and cannot legally stand by their
‘ Acts and Councils ; and if the Con-
‘ ference be for no other purpose, but
‘ only to prepare matter for a Convoca-
‘ tion, (as somesay it is not) why may
‘ not such a Conference and Convocati-
‘ on be held both at once ? For neither
‘ the selecting of some learned men out
‘ of both the Orders for the composing
‘ and reveiwing of the two Liturgies,
‘ digested in the Reign of King *Edward*
‘ the Sixth, proved any hindrence in
‘ the calling of their Convocation,
‘ which were held both in the second
‘ and third, and in the fifth and sixth
‘ years of the said Kings Reign : Nor
‘ was it found that the holding of a
‘ Con-

‘ Convocation together with the first
‘ Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth* pro-
‘ ved any hinderance to that Conference
‘ in disputation, which was designed be-
‘ tween the Bishops and some learned men
‘ of the opposite Parties. All which con-
‘ sidered, I do most humbly beg your
‘ Lordship to put his Majesty in mind of
‘ sending out his Mandates to the two
‘ Arch-Bishops, for summoning a Con-
‘ vocation according to the usual Form,
‘ in their severall Provinces, that this poor
‘ Church may be held with some degree
‘ of veneration both at home and abroad.
‘ And in the next place, I do no less
‘ humbly beseech your Lordship to ex-
‘ cuse this freedom, which nothing but
‘ my zeal to Gods Glory, and my affection
‘ to this Church could have forced from
‘ me. I know how ill this present Office
‘ doth become me, and how much better
‘ it had been, for such as shine in a more
‘ eminent Sphere in the holy Hierarchy
‘ to have tendred these particulars to
‘ consideration; which since they either
‘ have not done, or that no visible effect
‘ hath appeared thereof, I could not chuse
‘ but cast my poor Mite into the Treasu-
‘ ry; which if it may conduce to the
Churches

' Churches good, I shall have my wish;
 ' and howsoever shall be satisfied in point
 ' of Conscience, that I have not failed in
 ' doing my duty to this Church, according
 ' to the light of my understanding,
 ' and then what happens to me shall not
 ' be material. And thus again, most hum-
 ' bly craving pardon for this great pre-
 ' sumption, I subscribe my self,

My Lord,
 Your Lordships most humble
 Servant to be commanded,
 PETER HEYLYN.

Soon after, a Convocation was called XCV.
 by his Majesties Writ ; and during the
 time of their sitting (while he lived)
 he seldom was without *Visitors* from
 them, who constantly upon occasion,
 came to him for his Advice and Directi-
 on in matters relating to the Church ;
 because he had been himself an *ancient*
Clerk in the old *Convocations*. Many
 Persons of Quality, besides the Clergy,
 for the reverence they had to his Lear-
 ning, and the delight they took in his
 Company, payed him several *Visits*,
 which he never repayed, being still so
 devoted to his studies, that except going
 to

to Church, it was a rare thing to find him from home. I happened to be there when the good Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Cousins*, came to see him; who after a great deal of familiar discourse between them, said, *I wonder Brother Heylyn thou art not a Bishop, for we all know thou hast deserved it.* To which he answered, *much good may it do the new Bishops, I do not envy them, but wish they may do more than I have done.* Although he was but a Presbyter, I believe their Lordships thought him worthy of their holy Order; I am sure he was reverenc'd by some of them as St. *Jerome* was by St. *Augustine*. (*Quamvis Episcopus major est Presbitero Augustinus tamen minor est Jeronimo.*) The one of which was an old Presbyter, the other a young Bishop, but both of incomparable Learning and Vertues. The old Presbyter writeth thus to St. *Austin* the great Bishop of his time. *In scripturarum campo juvenis, non provocas senem. Nos nostra habuimus tempora: tunc te currente, & longa spatia transmeante nobis debetur otium.* For the good Doctors indefatigable pains and continued industry, he was second to none. For his Writings and Sufferings

S. Jer. Ep.
18, ad Aug.

in the Cause of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*, he did spend himself, and was spent. For the sad *Persecutions* he suffered in the time of *War*, his *Enemies* hunting after his Life, as *Ahaziah's* Captains did for the man of God; the woful *shifts* and *straits* he was put to, to secure himself from violence; how many times he narrowly *escaped death* from the hands of his *Enemies*, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler? What fears and distractions were often upon him, that he might say, *O si nescissem Literas*, I would to God I had not known a Letter of the Book; for his *Learning* and *Loyalty* were the cause of all his Calamities, yet notwithstanding he lived in an ungrateful Age, that no respect was shewed to him or his: But he returned only to his own in *Peace*, which he enjoyed a little *while* before the War, and less time after the Churches *settlement*. It hath been the Lot many times of great Scholars, to be neglected, which made his *Enemies* rejoyce, and not a little insult over him, to see him only passed by, and of all others remain in *Statu quo*, in the same Condition he was in before, which after the happy revolution of

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publick affairs neither Law nor Justice could hinder him of. I will not say of him as the Cardinal did of *Melancton*, that most Learned Divine of the Reformation.

*Melch. Ad.
in vit. Mel.*

O ingrati Germaniam quæ tanti viri tantosq; labores non pluris æstimet.

It fa red also ill with *Luthers* Memory after his Death, whose Widdow hoping some favours would be shewed to her for his merits, was shamefully disappointed. *Præter viduitatis incommoda quæ*

*ibid. in vit.
Luth.*

*multiplicia, experta est magnam ingrati-
tudinem multorum pro quibus sperans beneficia
ob ingentia mariti in Ecclesiam meritatur-
piter frustrata est.* So ordinary it is for men of admired worth, who have done publick service either in Church or State, to be soonest forgotten.

XCVI.

Now having run through the principal circumstances of this Reverend mans Life, it behoves us to say something of his Person, Conversation, Qualities, and the memorable Accidents hapning before the time of his Death, and so leave his Memory among worthy men.

For his Person; he was of a middle Stature; a slender spare man; his Face oval, of fresh complexion, looking rather young than old; his Hair short and

and curl'd, had few or no gray hairs ; his Eyes quick and sparkling, before he had the ill Fortune to loose his Sight : His natural Constitution being hot and dry : It was conceived by skilful *Oculists*, his Brain, heated with immoderate study, burnt up the Christaline humor of his Eyes : And this was most probable, he being continually engaged in writing either for Church or State ; his *Brain* was like a *Laboratory* kept hot with study, decayed his Eyes, if there be any truth in the *Naturalists* Observation, *magna cogitatio obæcat, abducto intus visu.* And this he look'd upon as the saddest affliction that ever besel him in his whole Life : Yet no doubt he was comforted, with the words (which he had often read in *Socrates*) of *Anthony* the good Monk unto *Dydimus* that learned man of *Alexandria*. ' Let it not grieve thee at all ' (faith he) O noble *Dydimus*, that thou ' art bereaved of thy *corporal Eyes*, and ' carnal sight ; for though you want such ' Eyes as commonly are given to *Flyes* and ' *Gnats*, yet hast thou greatly to rejoyce ' that the Eyes wherewith the Angels do ' behold their Maker, wherewith God is ' seen of Men are not taken from thee.

Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 11. cap. 36.

Socrat. l. 4. cap. 20.

Our blessed Saviour said, *the light of the Body is the Eye*; for without these two *Luminaries* which God hath placed in the Microcosm of man: None can be said in this World to live a true happy Day, who are under such a continual Night of Darkness; but that the intellectual Light of the Soul, the *Candle* of the Lord within us, supplies that miserable defect with a far greater felicity by extraordinary endowments of the mind; which *Seneca* calls, *melior pars nostri*; and it is the best part of man indeed: though all the Members and Parts of our *Bodies* are so excellently compacted together by the Wisdom of the Creator, and have such a necessary dependence upon one another for the exercise of their several *Offices*, that the *Compositum* of Man cannot be complete without them; and chiefly the Eye being the guide of the whole Body, hath preheminance over the rest of the Members, saith the Philosopher, *ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν τι ὑμᾶς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰν αἰσθησίων*, because by it we receive the greatest share of Knowledge and Understanding, it being the principal Organ of sense for that use.

Sen. lib. 10.
Nat Quest.

Arist. lib. 1.
Met.

But

But the loss of his Eyes, considering the Cause, was no *blemish* to his Person, but rather a Mark of Honour, as the *Cæci* among the Romans, a noble Family were so called, because of the notable service they did for the publick good, *Claros & illustres viros, militia domiq; ex oculorum vitio cognomenta invenerè*, saith Alex. ab Alexand. Thus Constantine the great, in honour of Paphnutius sufferings for Christian Religion, kissed the hole in his face, out of which the Tyrant Maximinus had bored his eye: *the good Emperor making much of the Socket* (saith Mr. Fuller) *when the Candle was put out.* These outward Windows being shut, the Doctor enjoyed more perfectly the sweet and seraphical contemplations of his own Mind, without disturbance from other Objects; which being removed, he did take a complacency and delight only in himself, as Tully saith, *Habet animus quo se delectet, etiam occlusis sensibus.* I may say truly of him thus, (though he was my Father in Law) that he was the venerable Bede of our Age, for many excellent Tractates he published which he never saw with his own Eyes, and they were done in

Alex. ab
Alex. lib. i.
cap. 9.

Holy State.
l. 3. c. 15.

Tull. lib. 3.
Tusc.

Socr. Eccl.
H.1.4.c.20.

as exact a manner, as when he had his faculty of sight at the best. The like *Socrates* saith of *Dydimus* when he was blind; he not only interpreted *Origens* Writings, and made Commentaries upon them, but set forth excellent *Treatises* to defend the Orthodox Faith against the *Arians*. The Doctors *Cosmography* was the last Book he writ with his own hand, after which *voluminous* work, his Eyes failed him, that he could neither see to write nor read without the help of an *Amanuensis*, whom he kept to his dying day; yet he was not so totally deprived of his *sight*, (as some imagin) but he could discern a Body or Substance near hand, (though not the *Physiognomy* of a Face) so as to follow his Leader, when he walk'd abroad.

XCIX. He macerated his Body with the *immoderate* exercises of his mind, often fasting, and taking little or nothing for the space of two or three days when he was upon painful studies, which made him look at such times like a *Skeleton*; yet then he was also of a cheerful Spirit. He followed no exercise for his *health*, but walking in his Garden, and then he used a kind of low *whistling* with himself

self, either to recreate his Spirits, or else (as it were) to sound an Alarm against his Enemies; like the old Germans, who affected a such like Tone, *asperitas soni, & fractum murmur*, when they went to War. All this while he was in deep Meditation, preparing for an encounter with his Adversary in some polemical discourse: The Pen being his only Weapon, in which he was as fortunate, as Alexander with his Sword; of whom its said, *Cum nullo hostium unquam congressus est, quem non vicerit*, He fought with none of his Enemies, but he overcame them; so the Doctor had the same good fortune in all his Pen-Combates to be Conqueror: For which cause he was ordinarily called the *Primipilus*, and chief Defender of Prelacy; by *Smedymnus*, the Bishops Darling, by others, the Puritan Episcopal man. For his Zeal and Courage, I may truly say of him, he was a right Peter, of whom *Casaubon* observes out of the Greek Fathers, *Petrum fuisse* *disputor, servido ingenio virum*. St. Peter was a man of a hot temper and disposition, that set him forward on all occasions, more than the other Disciples;

Cor. Tact. de mor. Ger.

Just. Hist. lib. 12.

Casaub. Exer. Cons. Baron. l. 4 c. 6.

So the Doctor was of the like disposition naturally, and inclined the more by study, much watching, and sitting up late at *Nights*; that threw him often into Fevers, to which he was very *subject*; notwithstanding his hot temper and constitution, he did so wisely correct and govern it, that he never fell into those *Paroxysms*, as to suffer his reason to be extinguished with passion, but his most fervent zeal was ever attended with deep knowledge, for he had an acute Wit, a solid judgement, and exuberant fancy, to which was adjoyned, (that which is rare to be found in all these excellences together) a most prodigious, and yet faithful Memory; that he did not usually take Notes, or make *Collections* of Readings out of Authors, (as most Scholars do) but committed what he read to his own Memory, which I believe never failed him, in whatsoever he treasured up to make use of hereafter: Therefore it was a pittiful charge of Mr. H. L' *Estrange* against him, that he misreported the words of *Pareus*, in putting down *quomodo* for *quando*; to which the Doctor answers thus for himself; whereby we may see what

what a true Repository of things his Memory was. 'I must tell you, (saith he) for him that is plundered of his Books, and keeping no Remembrances and Collections of his Studies by him, he cannot readily resolve what Edition he followed in his consulting with that Author. He always thought that *Tenure in Capite*, was a nobler, and and more honourable *Tenure* than to hold by *Copy*; and therefore carelessly neglected to commit any part of his Readings unto Notes and Papers, of which he never found such want, as in this perticular which you so boldly charge upon him.

When the Esquire tax'd him again for having many *Helpers*, as if he were beholden to other mens studies and pains about the composing of his Books, that was such a notorious Scandal, that every one who knew him, could confute; he in modest and most pious manner, replied thus, 'Though I cannot say, that I Exam. Hist. p. 206. have many *Helpers*, yet I cannot but confess in all humble gratitude, that I have one great Helper, which is *instar omnium*, even the Lord my God; *Auxilium meum a Domino*, my help cometh

'cometh even from the Lord which hath
 'made Heaven and Earth as the Psal-
 'mist hath it. And I can say with the
 'like humble acknowledgements of
 'Gods mercies to me, as *Jacob* did, when
 'he was askt about the quick dispatch
 'which he had made in preparing savory
 'meat for his Aged Father; *Voluntas Dei*
 '*fuit, & tam cito occurreret mihi quod vo-*
 '*lebam.* Gen. 27. 20. It is Gods good-
 'ness, and his only, that I am able to
 'do what I do: And as for any humane
 'Helpers, as the French Courtiers use to
 'say of King *Lewis* the Second, *That all*
 '*his Council rid upon one Horse,* because
 'he relyed upon his own Judgement
 'and Abilities only: So I may very tru-
 'ly say, that one poor Hackny-horie will
 'carry all my Helpers used, be they never
 'so numerous. The greatest help which
 'I have had (since it pleased God to
 'make my own sight unuseful to me)
 'as to writing and reading, hath come
 'from one, whom I had entertained for
 'my Clerk or Amanuensis, who though
 'he reasonably well understood both
 'Greek and Latin, yet had he no farther
 'Education in the way of Learning, than
 'what he brought with him from the
 'School,

'School, and a poor Country School.

His adversaries accused him sometimes for *severity* in his writings, but Cl. they never could for *viridency*, no, not the strict Sabbatarians who were chiefly offended with him, for his History of the Sabbath. The Ministers of *Surrey* and *Buckinghamshire* returned him thanks in the name of themselves, and their party for dealing so Candidly with them by all meek and loving perswasions, when he writ upon that Subject, and especially for his preface before the History. He once met with some rude usages in Court, though that is the place ordinarily of best breeding, and most civility, no other reason could be imagined but because he was envyed by his Fellow Chaplains, who saw him then a rising man, and most likely to be an Ascendant over them, if the old King and Arch-Bishop had lived. As to the Earl of E. Speech, calling him a *begging Schollar*, such great Persons doe take the *Liberty* to say what they please of their Inferiours, and none must *controul* them; how ever the young Scholar came not to his Lordship as a *Mendicant*, for he asked nothing

nothing at his hands but to accept the *Vindiction* of his order, which the Earl was bound to defend for his Honour sake, but could not with that Learning as the Historian had done. In the height of his prosperity, he abated nothing of his wonted Studies, but rather increased them, as it was said of him, *Ego quo major fuero tanto plus laborabo*. His whole Life (I may say) was a continued Study unto death for all his delight, time, thoughts and business was taken up in his Books, that he lived no longer then he could be an Author, and that at the last a most profitable one to his King and Country, as in his History of the Presbiterians which was his Farewel Book to the World, which no sooner he had prepared for the Press but he dyed like the ancient *Romanes*, of whom *Tacitus* saith *cecidere omnes versi in hostem*, they fell with their faces turn'd towards the Enemy. Finally he worthily deserved that Character of praise and thanks, which the good Emperor *A. Severus* bestowed on them, who discharged their office well, saying, *Gratias tibi agit Respublica*, but it was his ill Fortune to live in such ungrateful

Capitolin:
cap. 2.

An. lib.
15.

Lamprid.
cap. 4.

ungrateful times, that according to the French proverb, *Qui sert commun nul ne le paye*, & *Sil defaut chacun labbaye*. He that serves the good of the Community, is controlled by every one and rewarded by none. Yet however to his perpetual Honour, it may be said of him truly as was of the famous Scaliger, and whosoever reads his Life will confess the same. *Viz.*

Clarissimi & illustrissimi sumus, Principibus & proceribus noti sumus. Literarum amantissimi sumus, Ab omni ambitione & invidia remoti sumus, inimici nostri virtutem, non vitium in nobis haecenus infectati sunt. We are descended of an illustrious family; to Princes and Nobles we are well known, most lovers also of Learning, far from Ambition in our selves, and the envy of others. Our Enemies may rail at our Vertues, but they cannot reprove us for Vice.

*Ful. Caesar
Scalig. ver.
pag. 63.*

Therefore in the next place we shall CII. speak of his *Conversation*, that was free from all Scandall, or common immoralities which none of his most inveterate Enemies could tax him with, but only for his Religion and Loyalty, in which they thought he was too forward and more

more Zealous than many others, but that was no *Crime*, but *Conscience*. He was strict in the Education of his Children to train them up in *Religious* exercises, especially to get the *Scripture* by heart; that one of them having a singular *memory* like her Father, could give an account of all the *Historical* passages *methodically* from Chapter to Chapter, through most of the Bible, which an old Presbyterian Minister in *Lincolnshire* desiring to hear from her, she performed accordingly, at which the good man stood amazed, saying, *I did not think Episcopal men brought up their Children in this manner, for Doctor Heylyns sake I shall have a better opinion of them then ever I had.* So strangely is that party prepossessed with *prejudice*, and unchristian thoughts, as if the Episcopal Clergy did not Educate their Children in the Fear of God, whose care and conscience is, and hath alwayes been, to instruct them in this Lesson, To fear God, and honour the King, which whole sentence, and sometimes only the latter clause of it, for fear of *Popery* and arbitrary Power, some zealous Presbiters have caused to be raz'd out of their

their Churches painting. At last this man had the good luck to meet with Dr. Heylyn at his own Parish of *Laceby* in *Lincolnshire*, where after some discourses, the Doctor so well settled him in all points, that he lived and dyed a true Conformist to the Church of *England*. His chief pleasure was to converse with Scholars and Divines, from whose company his house seldom cooled, and they were as much delighted with his learned Society for their own improvements; that any one might say of him in this Case, who familiarly communed with him, *Nunquam accedo ad te, quin abs te abeam doctior*. If he had no such company, his ordinary conversation was very pleasant at *Meals* with his own Family; but if he was disturb'd out of those times, by them or Strangers (excepting Scholars) whereby he was taken off from his usual studies, indeed he was *morose*, and somewhat peevish for a while, till he diverted his thoughts from his Book, and then no man could be more complaisant, and very jocular; yet withal keeping up the gravity that became his degree. For an hour after Dinner he would stay with ordinary Guests,

Guests, and then no more to be seen of him till Night; but like *Diogenes* in *Dolio*, he was musing in his Study. He made seldom visits to his Friends, but lov'd to be visited himself, at which they took no exception, knowing his infirmity of sight, rendered him unable to stir abroad or otherwise he could have repayed the like ceremonies. I have known several Reverend Persons, who were old Bishops before the War, have honoured him with visits in *Abingdon*, and some new Bishops now living, as the right Reverend Fathers the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the Bishop of *Exeter*. And he wanted not good company amongst his own Neighbors in *Abingdon*, particularly Doctor *Tucker* a Civilian, Mr. *Jennings* an ingenious Person, and ejected fellow of *St. Johns C.* in *Oxon*, and Mr. *Blower* a witty Lawyer, who were his constant *Visitors*, and in whose company he was extremely delighted at all times.

CIII.

For his generosity on all occasions (as well as free Hospitality) to help the publick concerns at the time of any royal aid or *Benevolence*, to serve his Prince

Prince and his Country, no man could shew himself more active and forward to contribute according to his Power, and sometimes above it, when he was scarce warm in his *Ecclesiastical* Preferments; soon after which, the sad Wars broke forth, that despoiled him and the regular Clergy. In the year 1639. when his Majesty began his Journy against the Scots, upon the liberal contribution of the Clergy, he gave fifty Pounds out of his Parsonage in *Alresford*, and for *Southwam-borough*, thirteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; at the same time when he had not payed of his first *Fruits* for this Living. He was the first of all the Clergy that subscribed in *Hampshire*; being a leading man, his good Example so moved others, that the Clergy of that *County* exceeded their other Brethren; they raised for the Kings use the sum of 1348*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* After his Majesty, King Charles the Second most happy Restauration; towards the Royal *Benevolence* he gave fifty Pounds for his Parsonage of *Alresford*, besides his share of a thousand Pound, as he was Prebendary of *Westminster*. I should have added also, (which I had almost
T for

The Life of

17
forgotten) in the beginning of the War he gave to the Old King, Mony and Plate to the value of an hundred Pounds ; by all which freely parted out of his Purse, and more than his Estate could well bear, having many *Children* to provide for ; he sufficiently confuted the Calumny of *L' Strange*, who said, according to his gentile and new mode of writing hard words, the Doctor was *Philargurous*, when poor man what he parted with, and what he was plundered of, he had scarce enough left to *inse* his Person from frigidity, according to the good squires Language.

L' Strange
Hist. fol. 45.

CIV. For his Charity to the Poor, he had always a liberal Heart, to cast his Bread upon the Waters when he had Bread to cast, that is, when he was in a condition to relieve others ; at which time he gave Alms to his Enemies, as well as to the honest Poor of the Kings Party ; for being asked the question when he lived in *Abingdon*, whether he would serve *St. Ellens* poor, being of the adverse Party against the Royalists ? He answered, *no exception ought to be made in the Case of Charity*. Wherein he followed the Example of our blessed Lord, who

who had compassion on the poor *Samarians* as well as upon the *Jews*, to whom he shewed many acts of piety and goodness, besides the *Cure* of their bodily infirmities; its probable he gave them an Alms-peny, for which reason *Judas* carried the *Bag*; that had a common stock in it for the Poor, to be used, as occasion served. The good Doctor hath sent Meat from his own Table to the *Prisoners* in *Goal*, and at *Abington* such as were condemned to dye, he took pains to instruct and prepare them for Death, and to administer the holy *Sacrament* unto them before their Execution, particularly to one Captain *Francis*, and his Company condemned with him, at *Abington* Affizes, the Captain being a known *Royalist*, for which reason it was thought, the Judge was so severe against him upon his Tryal, and plainly partial in the Examination of Witnesses of both sides. The Doctor after the Sentence of Condemnation, went to *Prison* to pray with him, and administered the *Sacrament* to him and the other Prisoners, who were penitent; provided Bread and Wine for them at his own Charge; all which certainly was

the most Christian Act of Piety and Charity that could be shewed to those miserable Souls. I could instance many other particulars, which manifested his goodness, wherein he ought to be followed as a worthy Example, but that its time now to draw near to his End.

For do the Prophets live for ever? as the good Prophet himself said. No, 'tis the deplored Condition of Mankind to live a while, for to dye; after the holy men of God, had served God in their Generation, they must fulfil the end of their Prophecie with their Lives; as God said to Daniel. *Tu autem abi ad terminum.* Go thou thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in the Lot at the end of the days; on which, Geierus and Junius Comment thus.

Compara te ad mortem, disposita domo tua, & contentus hac revelatione, non ultra labores & requiesces a laboribus, corpore in Sepulchro, Anima vero in sinu Abrahæ, stabis in hereditate tua caelesti & æterna, vel illa ejus parte quæ tibi ex decreto Dei continget.

Prepare thy self for Death, set thy house

Geier: &
Jun: in loc:

house in order, be content with this Revelation; thou shalt labour no more, but rest from all thy labours and troubles, with thy Body in the Grave, but thy Soul in *Abrahams Bosom*; thou shalt abide for ever in thy celestial Inheritance, and in that degree of Glory which God hath decreed for thee. So all these things happened to this good man; and I may call him *prophetical*, because he ~~was~~ *truly* foresaw his own Death, set his house in order, and prepared himself accordingly, and an end was soon put ~~after~~ to his Days; and of making many Books ~~because much study~~, as Solomon saith, *is a weariness of the flesh*, though the Mind or Spirit of a Man is never tired out or can be satisfied, because Knowledge is no burden. By the Almightyes good pleasure and providence, he was now removed from his House in *Abingdon* to his house in *Westminster*, (where he lived not long) and from thence to the House of *Darkness*, where all must take up their last Lodging. *The Grave is mine house* (saith Job) *I have made my Bed in the Darkness*. What Man is he that liveth and

shall not see Death? Shall he deliver his Soul from the hand of the Grave? Is not this the House appointed for all Living? According to the French Proverb, three things carry away all with them.

L' Eglise, la Court & la Mort
 L' Eglise prend de vis & mort
 La Court prend le droiet & le tort
 La Mort prend le foible & le fort.

The Church, the Court, and Death
 take all;

The Church both *Living* and the *Dead*
 install:

To Court all Causes come, either right
 or wrong,

But Death destroys all Mortals weak
 or strong.

CVI. Therefore we shall speak of the *Circumstances* foregoing his Death, and the memorable *Accidents* happening to him about the same time. He had before been greivously afflicted with a *Quartan* Ague, that deadly Enemy unto old Age, and seldom cured by the Physician. *Febris quartana opprobrium medici.*

medici. The poor Doctor had wraſtled with the *Disease* a long time, and ſeemingly got the victory of it, for the *paroxysms* or uſual fits of this ſore diſtemper had departed from him, but withal ſo violently ſhaken him, and left ſuch a weakneſs behind them, ſo exhausted his ſtrength and vital Spirits, that any one might perceive what ſtrange alterations his ſickneſs had wrought in him; for he was before of a freſh lively *complexion*; a man vigorous in action, but now grown feeble and weak, of a pale *diſcoloured* countenance, the fore-runner of Death, his Cheeks fallen, his Eyes a little ſunk within his *Temples*, and leanneſs of Face and whole Body, that ſhewed he was haſtning on faſt to the end of his *Pilgrimage*: Yet I dare not ſay there is ſuch a predetermined Term of every mans Life, which is immutable, but the great God of Heaven from whom we derive our Being, can lengthen or ſhorten our days, as his *Wiſdom* pleaſeth; and on the other ſide, this is a Decree moſt abſolute and irrevocable, *Statutum eſt, omnibus ut ſemel moriantur.* It is appointed for all men once to

die. In reverence of which Decree, such a heavenly man as the Doctor was, could not but be prepared (as every religious Soul is,) for to dye, or put off his mortal *Body*.

CVII. Before which time two Accidents happened to him, one *suddenly* after the other, which he looked upon as *presaging* Providences of his Death; for he was a man very *critical* in his observation of unusual things, and I may say in this particular, propheticall: For on the *Saturday Night* before he sickned, he dreamed that he was in an extraordinary pleasant and delightful Place; where standing and admiring the *beauty* and *glory* of it, he saw the late King his *Master*, who said to him *Peter, I will have you buried under your Seat at Church, for you are rarely seen, but there or at your Study*; Which Dream he told his Wife the next Morning; saying, it was a significant one, giving her charge, when he dyed, there to bury him. A few hours after, his Maid holding his *Surplice* against the Fire to air it, one of the *Billets* upon the fire, tumbled down, the Flame of which *caught* hold
of

of the *Surplice* and burned it; at which Accident, so soon following his *Dream*, he said, *That was ominous, and he should never wear Surplice more*, as indeed he did not; like *Adam* the high Priest when he was stripped of his priestly *Garments* by Gods own appointment, he must certainly dye. These two Accidents falling out together, made such a strong impression upon his mind, that on the same day (though he was seemingly well as he used to be) he did not go to Church, but on the *Munday* following went forth in the Morning, stayed out all the Day, in which time he bought a House of one Mrs. *Floyd* in the *Almanry*, payed his Mony for it, *renewed* the Lease of it, and brought home the Writings; and then told his Wife, the reason of his being from home all that time (which was an unusual thing with him) was, because he had bought her a House to live in, near the Abby, that she might serve God in that Church, as he had done, All which she not knowing before, seemed strange and terrifying to her, not thinking the precedent Accidents of the Dream and Sur-

Surplice could have wrought such an indelible impression on his fancy, she urged all the arguments and persuasions she possibly could, to drive away this Melancholy humor, but all in vain, for he still persisted in his opinion, which proved too sad a truth: Because he was a man, who rarely dreamed in his Life, and when he did, he could remember no circumstances of it, which puts me in mind what Pliny hath written to this purpose, that there be some persons of so curious and excellent temper, who are seldom or never disturbed with Dreams, but if it so happen to them at any time, it is a deadly sign.

Plin. Hist.
nat. l. 10.
c. 75.

Quibus mortiferum fuisse signum (saith he) *contra consuetudinem somniorum in venimus exempla.*

CVIII.

That there is a truth in some Dreams I do not question; though I would not have men too credulous of them: Because this is not now Gods œconomy or his ordinary way of dispensation under the Gospel, to manifest his mind to us, as he did to the Patriarchs before the Law, and afterward to the holy Prophets, to whom he made known himself *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολλοῖς ἡμέραις*, at sundry

Heb. cap.
I. 17.

sundry times, and in divers manners, and particularly in this way and manner of Dreams; yet as God cannot be limited in his *Will* and *Power* at any time, when he hath a mind to do an extraordinary thing: I would therefore not too rigidly condemn all Dreams for *delusions*, that are *ascertained* to us by the Testimony of wise and credible Persons, whom we know are no way enclined to be either *fanciful* or *fanatick*. Omitting what *Artemidorus*

hath written in his *Oneirocriticks*, I take *Celius Rhodoginus* for a most lear-^{Rhodogin.}

l. 27. c. 9.

ned and faithful Author, who reports of himself, that when he could not explain a hard passage, he met with in *Pliny*, that puzzled his Brain, it was made known and revealed to him in a Dream, if he did look in such a Book he should find it. *Librum arripui* (saith he) *sicut somnia veram sic comperni*. 'I took up the Book, and 'found the same accordingly as I 'dreamed. Neither was that less wonderful, which *Joseph Scaliger* tells us of his Fathers Dream, who in his Sleep read an *Epitaph* which he never saw with his Eyes, or ever heard of before,

*Jul. Caf.
Scal. vita
pag. 48.*

fore, yet proved most true; whence he inferreth by this Example, the prodigy, and yet certainty of some Dreams. *Prodigiosa etiam usq; ad miraculum ex somniis variatio.* We may believe his Relation; for he was a man of that Integrity, and great Spirit, as he would scorn to tell a Lye. I cannot omit what Dr. Heylyn himself hath written of Arch-Bishop Laud, That he was much given to take notice of Dreams, and commit them to writing. Amongst which I find this for one, that on Friday Night, the 24th. of January 1639. his Father (who died six and forty years before) came to him, and that to his thinking, he was as well, and as cheerful, as ever he saw him; that his Father asked him what he did there; and that after some speech, he demanded of his Father, how long he would stay there? And his Father made this Answer, that he should stay till he had him along with him. A Dream which made such impression on him, as to add this Note to it in his Breviate, that though he was not moved with Dreams, yet he thought to remember this. I

*Arch-Bish.
Life p. 422.*

I know many impute those Dreams in our Sleep to a melancholy temper, which the Doctor was never subject to, either in time of *Sickness* or *Health*, but was a Man always of most cheerful Spirit. I confess that black humor presenteth strange things to the Imagination and *Phantasie* of some Persons, that *Aristotle* in his Problems ascribes the Prophecie of the Sybil Women thereto, and *Cardanus*, the Revelations of *Hermites*, because living in solitude, and on bad diet. *Quantum poterat* (saith he) *in illis humor melancholicus*. The old Philosophers also were of opinion, that all Prophecie did proceed from the strength of Imagination, by the conjunction of the Understanding, which they call *Intellectus possibilis*, with the other faculty of the *Intellectus agens*; whereby they concluded, (contrary to the holy Scripture) that old men were not capable of prophecyng, by reason of the weakness of their imagination, and other natural faculties decayed in them, through Age; but the quite contrary appeareth in Scripture Examples, that they

Card. de
Subtil. l. 18.
p. 1187.

that they were generally *aged* men, or well stricken in years, who had the gift of prophecy, though their *eye sight* failen them, as did with *Jacob*, yet they were called *Seers*, because they foresaw future things, they were so old, that for their Age and gravity they were sometimes *upbraided*, so *Elisha* by the Children was mocked, who undoubtedly were so taught by their ungodly Fathers, to say of him go up thou baldhead. Neither doth a melancholy constitution (as some have imagined) make men propheticall either in sleeping or waking, but on the contrary renders them incapable, as is evident by the examples of *Jacob*, and *Elisha*; the first of whom being in deep sadness, (which is the inseparable *Companion* of melancholy) for the loss of his Son *Joseph*, was at the same disabled from prophecy or otherwise he could have told what Fortune had befallen his Son, who was not dead, but sold by his Brethren. Hence *Mercer* tells us it was an ordinary saying among the *Rabbines* *Maror prophetiam impedit*. In like manner the Prophet *Elisha* for the sorrow of *Elijah* his Master, taken away from

from him, and the anger he had conceived against *Jehoram* that wicked Prince, whilst these two *passions* were predominant over him, he could not prophesie, till the *Minstrel* played with her Musical Instrument, to drive away his melancholy sadness, and then the hand of the Lord (its said) came upon him, and he prophesied saying, Thus saith the Lord, &c.

By all which I hope it is evident, that CX.
hypocondriacal persons, who are grievously afflicted with melancholy are not thereby disposed to *prophesie*, and then by necessary consequence it followeth, that Dreams arising from the same *natural* cause cannot be said prophetical, no more then that of *Albertus magnus* who dream'd that hot Scalding Pitch was poured upon his Brest, Rhodig. lib. 27.
and so soon as he awakned from his leap. 7. sleep, he vomited up abundance of *adust* Chollar. Such Dreams certainly arise from the ill habitude of the Body, through fullness of bad humors.

But there is another sort of Dreams CXI.
which may be called *divine* or supernatural, which are imprinted on the mind of man, either by *God* himself or his holy

holy *Angels*, from which necessarily follows prophecy; because such extraordinary impressions are usual for those ends. And this I take to be the Reverend Doctors Dream, who was a man of so great *Piety* as well as *Study*, that I cannot think otherwise, but that he was able to *discern* the different motions of his Soul, whether they were natural or supernatural, of which last he was so firmly assured by his own *reason* and great *Learning*, that no arguments could *dissuade* him to the contrary, St. *Austine* saith. *Animam habere quandam vim divinationis in seipsa.* That the Soul of man hath a certain power of Divination in it self, when it is abstracted from bodily *actions*, I confess then it must needs be drawn up to higher Communion with God than ordinary; but more immediately I rather think with *Tertullian*, a little before death, about the time of its separation from the Body, because many dying *persons* have wonderfully foretold things which afterward came to *pass*, the reason of which, that good Father giveth (and therein I judge he was no *Montanist*) when he saith. *Qui-*

*a. Anima in ipso divertio penitus agitari
enunciata qua vidit, quae audit & quae in-
cipit mori.* Because the Soul then acts
most vigorously at the last Breath,
declares what things it seeth, it hear-
eth, and what it begins to know, now
entering into Eternity.

So the heavenly and pious Doctor ac-
cording to the premonitions of his Death, for-
seeing his time was short, gave his Wife
strict charge again (that very night as
he was going to Bed and in appareance
well) that she should bury him accor-
ding to his Dream, she affrighted with
this dreadful charge, fate by him, while
he fell into a Sleep, out of which he soon
awaked in a *Feverish* distemper, and
violent Hick-up, which she taking no-
tice of, said, I fear Mrs. Heylyn you have
got cold with going abroad to day, but he
answered very meadly, no, it was
Deaths Hick-up, and so it proved, for he
grew worse and worse till he dyed. Now
some have imputed the cause of his sick-
ness to the eating of a Tattley, but
this is false, for I heard the contrary
relation from her own mouth, his Dream
was on the Saturday night, his Surplice
happened to be burnt on Sunday mor-
ning

XIII.

ning all which day he pass'd in private meditation in his Study, and on the Monday, what time he had to spare he spent in providing a *Settlement* for his Wife as aforesaid; again, when he was well recovered from his sickness, he returned again to his good mans sickness, of which the true cause as his Physician said, was the reliques of his long *quarantine* Ague not purged out by *Physick*, to which he was always averse, threw him into a malignant Fever, in which he remained insensible till some few hours before he dyed, but when it pleased God to restore unto him his *Senses* again, he most zealously glorified his Name with praises and thanksgivings for his mercies towards himself and Family, earnestly praying for them, and often commending them to Gods Heavenly care and protection; at the same time he left a little *Book* of Prayers with his dear Wife for her *Devotion*; which she shewed afterward to me, being a *Collection* of many *Collets* out of the *Common Prayer*, to every one of which he had added a most fervent Prayer of his own composition, that little Book she said should be the *Prayer-Book* of her Devotion while

while he lived. Finally as his time grew shorter and shorter, he prayed with more *vehemency* of Spirit sometimes to God, sometimes to his Saviour, and to the blessed Comforter of his Soul, rejoycing exceedingly, that he should live to *Ascension* day, uttering forth most heavenly expressions to the sweet Comfort of others and principally of his own Soul with a *triumph*, or full assurance of his Salvation, through Christ Jesus, which last unspeakable joy and consolation above all other, God is pleased to be bestow upon the faithful, and seal it to them with the earnest of his Spirit at the hour of Death. At which time, his Soul now ready to depart, and be with Christ his Saviour, one Mr. Merril a *Verger* of the Church coming into his Chamber to see him, he presently called him to his Bed side, saying to him. I know it is *Church* time with you, and I know this is *Ascension* day, I am ascending to the Church *Triumphant*, I go to my God and Saviour, unto joyes *Caelestial*, and to Hallelujah's eternal, with which and other like expressions he dyed upon Holy Thursday
An. Dom. 1663. in the Climacterial year

of his Life, three score and three, in which
number the Sevenths and nints do
ten fatally concur. He was after-
ward buried under his Sub-Deans Seat
according to his Dream and desire. His
Death lamented by all good men, be-
cause there was a Pillar, though not a
Bishop fall in the Church, of whom I
may say in the Poets words.

Hor. l. i.
Od. 24.

*Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis illa bonis flebilis occidit
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.*

When will they find another such? his
Was most by me lamented, much by All

CXIV. God Almighty had blessed him with
eleven Children, four of which are still
living. His Monument is erected in
the North side of the Abbey in Westmin-
ster, over against the Sub-Deans Seat
with this following Epitaph which the
Reverend Dean of the Church then, Dr
Earl did himself compose in honour of
his Memory.

T

DEPOSITUM MORTALE.

PETRI Heylyn. S. T. P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Prebendarii
& Subdecani.

Viri plane memorabilis.

Egregiis dotibus instructissimi.

Ingenio acri & fecundo

Judicio subacto.

Memoria ad prodigium tenaci;

Cui adjunxit incredibilem in stu-
diis patientiam,

Quæ, cessantibus oculis, non ces-
sarunt.

Scripsit varia & Plurima

Quæ jam manibus hominum ve-
runtur

Et argumentis non vulgaribus.

Stylo non vulgari suffecit.

Constans ubiq; Ecclesiæ

Et Majestatis Regiae assertor
Nec florentis magis utriusque
Quam afflictae;
Idemq; perduellium & Schismaticae
factionis
Impugnator acerrimus
Contemptor invidiae
Et animo infracto.
Plura ejusmodi meditati
Mors indixit silentium
Ut sileatur,
Efficere non potest.

Obiit Anno Etat. 63.

In English.

A Monument of Mortality.
Of Peter Heylyn Doctor of Di-
vinity. Prebendary and Sub-
Dean of this Church. A man
truly worthy of remembrance.
- Endowed

Endowed with excellent parts. Of sharp and pregnant Wit. A solid and clear Judgement. A memory tenacious to a Miracle. Whereunto he added an incredible Patience in Study. And therein still persisted, when his Eye sight ceased. He Writ many Books, upon various Subjects, (that are now in mens hands) containing in them nothing thats Vulgar either for Style or Argument. On all occasions he was a constant Assertor of the Churches Right, and the Kings Prerogative, as well in their afflicted as prosperous estate. Also he was a severe and vigorous opposer of Rebels and Schismatics. A despiser of Envy, and a man of undaunted Spirit. While he was seriously intent on these, and many more like Studies Death commanded him to be silent, but could not silence his Fame.

*He died in the Sixty third
year of his Age.*

endowed with excellent parts. His
 sharp and pregnant Wit. A solid
 clear Judgement. A ready tenaci-
 ty to a subject. Whence he added
 an incredible labour and study. In
 which his persister when his Eye
 light collected. He wrote many Books
 upon various subjects that are now
 in more hands. Testimony in them
 nothing being slighter either for style
 or Argument. On all occasions he
 was a constant follower of the Church
 Right and the King's prerogatives as well
 as their assisted as professors of the
 who he was severe and vigorous op-
 pose of Heresies and Schismatics. A
 depiction of Envy and a man of undan-
 red spirit. While he was formerly
 in prison there and many more like
 studies. He commanded him to be
 silent but could not silence his fame.

His life in the year 1640
 by the year 1640.

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*A Catalogue of such Books as were
written by the Learned Doctor.*

S *Purius*, a Tragedy, M. S. 1616.
Theomachia, a Comedy, M. S. 1619.
Geography printed at Oxon twice, A. D.
 1621. and 1624. in *Quarto*, and af-
 terwards in A. D. 1652. enlarged in-
 to *Folio*, under the Title of *Cosmogra-
 phy*.

An Essay, called *Augustus*, 1631. since
 inserted into his *Cosmography*.

The History of St. George, Lond. 1631.
 reprinted, 1633.

The History of the Sabbath, 1631. re-
 printed, 1636.

An Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's
 Letter to the Vicar of Grantham, 1636.
 twice reprinted.

An Answer to Mr. Burton's two Sedi-
 tious Sermons, A. D. 1637.

A short Treatise concerning A Form of
 Prayer to be used according to what
 is enjoined in the Fifty fifth Canon,
 written at the request of the Bishop
 of Winchester, 1637.

Antidotum Lincolnienſe, or an Answer to
the Biſhop of *Lincoln* Book, entituled
Holy Table, Name, and Thing. 1637.
reprinted, 1638.

An uniform Book of Articles, fitted for
Biſhops and Arch-Deacons in their
Viſitations, 1640.

De Jure paritatis Episcoporum, or con-
cerning the Peerage of Biſhops, 1640.
M. S.

A Reply to Dr. *Hackuel*, concerning
the Sacrifice of the *Eucharist*, M. S.
1641.

The Hiſtory of *Episcopacy* firſt under
the Name of *Theoph. Churchman*, af-
terwards in his own Name, reprinted,
1657.

The Hiſtory of *Liturgies* written, 1642.

A Relation of the Lord *Hoptons* Victo-
ry at *Bodmin*.

A View of the Proceedings in the *West*
for a Pacification.

A Letter to a Gentleman in *Lincolnſhire*
about the Treaty.

A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir
John Gell.

A Relation of the Queens Return from
Holland, and the Siege of *Newark*.

The *Black Croſs*, ſhewing that the
Lon-

Londoners were the Cause of the Rebellion.

The Rebels Chatechism: All these printed at Oxon. 1644.

An Answer to the Papists groundless Clamor, who nick-name the Religion of the Church of England by the Name of a Parliamentary Religion, 1644.

A Relation of the Death and Sufferings of Will. Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, 1644.

The stumbling Block of Disobedience removed, written, 1644. printed 1658.

The Promised Seed in English Verse.

Theologia Veterum, or an Exposition of the Creed, Fol. 1654.

Survey of France, with an account of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, 1656.

Quarto.

Examen Historicum, or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories. Lond. 1659.

Certamen Epistolare, or the Letter-Combat managed with Mr. Baxter, Dr. Bernard, Mr. Hickman, Oct. Lond. 1659.

Historia Quinq; Articulis, Quarto, Lond. 1660.

Re-

Respondet Petrus, or the Answer of Peter Heylyn, D. D. to Dr. Bernard's Book, entituled the Judgment of the late Primate, &c. Quarto, Lond.

1658.

Observations on Mr. Hamond. L'Estrange's History of the Life of King Charles the First, 1648.

Extraneus Vapulans, or a Defence of those Observations, Lond, 1658.

A Short History of King Charles the First, from his Cradle to his Grave, 1658.

Thirteen Sermons, some of which are an Exposition of the Parable of the Tares, printed at London 1659. and again, 1661.

A Help to English History, containing a Succession of all the Kings, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Bishops, &c. of England and Wales, first written in the year 1641, under the Name of Robert Hall; but now enlarged, and in Dr. Heylyn's Name.

Ecclesia Vindicata, or the Church of England justified, &c. Quarto, 1657.

Bibliotheca Regia, or the Royal Library, Octavo.

Eccle-

Ecclesia Restaurata, or the History of
the Reformation *Folio. Lond. 1661.*
Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of
the Life and Death of *William Laud*
Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury, Folio.*
Aerius Redivivus, or the History of the
Presbyterians, *Folio.*

FINIS.
